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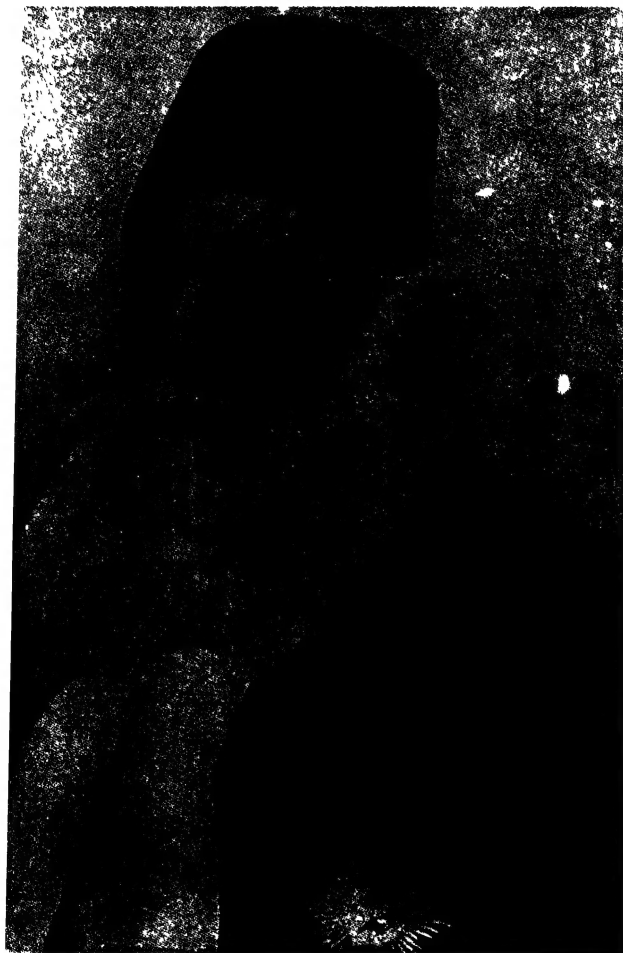
THE LIFE AND WORK OF SIR SYED AHMED KHAN

SIR SYED AHMED KHAN

THE LIFE AND WORK

OF

SIR SYED AHMED KHAN

BY

MAJOR-GENERAL G. F. I. GRAHAM

with a new introduction by
ZAITUNA Y. UMER

KARACHI
OXFORD UNIVERSITY PRESS
LONDON NEW YORK DELHI
1974

with many facets and angles, and because he wrote and spoke so much, there are diverse elements in the legacy of this Muslim leader. Men of all shades of religious and political opinion claimed him as the originator of their particular schools of thought. Nevertheless, he was a man who must be seen and judged in the context of his own time and contemporaries, and as the main link between the decaying feudalism of pre-British Mughal Hindustan and the renaissance of modern Muslim India. Over the years, Syed Ahmed's legacy has had a profound influence upon the thought of Muslim India.

The Muslim deputation at Simla in 1906, which heralded the birth of the Muslim League as a counterweight to the Congress in Indian politics, used arguments of Sir Syed's about the need for separate representation for the community. Mohammed Ali and the leaders of the aggressive nationalism of the 1920s used arguments about the need for the educational regeneration of Muslims, which had been pioneered by Syed Ahmed. But, equally, the pro-British Punjab Muslim League of Sir Mohammed Shafi invoked 'the legacy of Sir Syed' to justify its opposition to the Khilafat Movement in the 1920s. In retrospect, Syed Ahmed was used to justify the view that Muslim thought in general and the Muslim League in particular had a pre-history that stretched far back into the 19th century.

Syed Ahmed must not only be seen against the background of the Muslim community, however, for in many ways he was typical of a whole generation of late 19th century Indian reformers, who although not themselves educated in the new English schools, were the first to react to the penetration into the subcontinent of Western ideology.

Like many social reformers of this period, he came from a Government (Mughal in his case) service background and elevated himself to the position of spokesman for his community through vernacular pamphleteering. But he had in common with the moderate politicians of Poona, and the conservative reformers of the northern Indian Hindu community, an overriding concern with education. It was this which changed a tactical political stance, derived from the aftermath of the Mutiny, into co-operation with the British. Like many Indian politicians, Hindu or Muslim, he considered that social reform and education must precede political development. That Sir Syed's reputation among radical nationalist Indian historians is as an arch-reactionary collaborator is largely unwarranted. He was simply unusually successful in extracting money and attention from the British government in a period when the most advanced politicians were bound to co-operate with government on matters concerning education, government service and the needs of their own community.

Syed Ahmed's career as a practical social reformer began in the 1860s while he was a government servant in the west of the North-Western Provinces (later the United Provinces and now Uttar Pradesh), and Graham first met him in 1864 when he was an Assistant Inspector-General of Police in the Agra district. Syed Ahmed was then deeply concerned about the reluctance of Muslims to adopt Western education, and started the Ghazipore Translation Society, which was to publish translated works of science and literature by major Western writers. Several well-known personalities of the day, both English and Indian, became patrons of the society, which proved to be the precursor of the

Mohammedan Anglo-Oriental College of Aligarh.

Undoubtedly, Syed Ahmed is best remembered by his countrymen as the founder of this college, which was designed to produce young gentlemen in the style of Harrow and Cambridge. On his enterprising visit to these institutions in 1869 when on a tour of England and Europe, Syed Ahmed had been very impressed by Western civilization as represented by Victorian England, and he strove to create an educational programme that would produce future leaders of the Muslim community equipped to cope with both East and West. The college succeeded in educating and training men from aristocratic and wealthy families, who had lost their traditional military and governmental occupations at the outset of British rule and had failed to adapt to the new, highly competitive society in India where, for the first time, an English-educated professional class was coming into its own.

But increasingly Syed Ahmed's concern with education led him into semi-political associations, such as the many 'anjumans' (literary societies) which sprang up in the Muslim towns of upper India in the 1870s. The earliest and most important of this type of organization was The British-India Association of the North-Western Provinces, which was founded at Aligarh in 1866. This not only considered questions of education but petitioned the Government on political matters affecting landlords and educated people of the district.

Syed Ahmed was politically a pragmatist and his energies in the 1870s were largely devoted to furthering education for his community. But in the 1880s he was suddenly challenged by the emergence of All-India nationalist politics

and the Indian National Congress. His reaction to this was not a calculated statement of a political philosophy aimed at proving that Hindus and Muslims were two nations, so much as an immediate response to what he regarded as a threat to the Mohammedan Anglo-Oriental College and those who supported it. In fact Syed's political views never formed a unified philosophy; they arose from reactions to immediate political events and the necessity to safeguard Muslim interests. From 1857 to about 1870, Syed Ahmed concentrated on explaining to the government the agitation which had culminated in the Indian Mutiny; an agitation largely led by the Muslims. He felt that Muslims had suffered greatly at British hands, and yet it was vital to restore them to the confidence and patronage of their rulers. His interpretation of the events of 1857 gave Syed Ahmed his first chance to step into the limelight as a spokesman for his community.

The second phase of his political career was directed towards counteracting the secular nationalism of the Indian National Congress, founded in 1885. He organized The Indian Patriotic Association in August 1888 and, under its aegis, regional and isolated Islamic 'anjumans' combined to protest against the political programme of the Congress based upon the assumption of majority Hindu rule. In this connexion Syed Ahmed was one of the first to assess the implications of the Urdu-Hindi controversy as a reason for the cultural and political gap between the two communities.

Yet Sir Syed's 'loyalism' was never unconditional and in the middle 1890s, before his death, there are several signs of increasing disenchantment with British policy. He was afraid that the Legislative Council, extended to include

electoral constituencies in 1892, would harm Muslim interests by giving power to a Hindu majority. The agitation by the Hindus against cow-slaughter, which came to a head in 1894, was seen as a direct threat to Muslim identity and the government was felt to have responded to this inadequately. In general, by 1895, the Anglo-Muslim honeymoon of the 1870s, when Muslim leadership in India was almost unanimous in its support of the Raj, had passed. The way was now clear for a new generation of Muslim leaders such as Viqar al-Mulk and Muhsin al-Mulk, who felt they had something to offer but only at their own price.

Even from this brief sketch, it can be seen that Sir Syed's career and writings had many facets; he was much more complex than is often appreciated, even by his supporters. But it is precisely this which makes an investigation of the literary origins of the legend of Sir Syed Ahmed so important. One major event in the creation of his reputation was the publication in 1885 of Colonel Graham's book.

II

'The Life and Work of Sir Syed Ahmed Khan' has all the virtues and weaknesses of the conventional Victorian biography. Colonel George Farquhar Irving Graham, the biographer, knew his subject intimately and had been closely associated with him for more than twenty-five years. In fact Graham, like Theodore Morison, Theodore Beck and Thomas Walker Arnold, was one of the half-dozen Englishmen of the period seriously drawn to Muslim culture who did much to form an indulgent attitude towards Muslims among the British. This attitude was based on sympathy rather than expediency and persisted

after the late 1890's when the official policy of Sir Antony Macdonnell, one of the most powerful Lieutenant-Governors of the North-Western Provinces, moved sharply towards the promotion of Hindu interests. Graham succeeded in presenting Syed Ahmed as undoubtedly 'the Mohammedan of his day in India' and the book was hailed as 'one of the most important books of the season'. Yet when presented with it, Syed Ahmed with characteristic modesty described the book as the 'favour of Graham to Syed Ahmed'.

Graham, born on the 3rd December 1840, the son of a Scottish 'Writer to the Signet', was persuaded by his mother to join the Indian service as a cadet in the Bengal Infantry in December 1856. After a thorough 'classical and mathematical' education, he had been sent to a Moravian Institute in Germany to familiarize himself with French and German.

Graham was first commissioned in 1856 as a military officer, but later was seconded to the Civil Service of the North-Western Provinces and rose to the rank of District Superintendent of Police in Etah; Syed Ahmed was an Assistant District Magistrate in Benares not far from Etah, but it was while both men were stationed at Ghazipore that they first met. Between 1860 and 1886, when Graham was commissioned as a Colonel, he spent most of his time as a police officer in the North-Western Provinces, but he was not a distinguished member of the ruling elite.

Graham and Sir Syed were temperamentally very different. Graham was a shy man and he was only persuaded to speak in public twice in 22 years. At the same time he became a fervent supporter of Sir Syed's educational pursuits, and

admired the ability with which the latter exercised his great energy and skill in public speaking and in persuasion of both his slow-moving Muslim compatriots and Government officials.

Unlike other Muslim Indians of his time, who tended to limit their social sphere to Indians, Syed Ahmed had a wide circle of acquaintances, including most of the distinguished Englishmen of his day. Apart from their many mutual friends, he was on cordial terms with Sir Alfred Lyall, Allan Octavian Hume (founder of the Indian National Congress), Sir Charles Elliott, Lord Ripon, Sir William Muir, Lord Lytton, Sir John Strachey and Sir Auckland Colvin. A large number of these were supporters and patrons of the Mohammedan Anglo-Oriental College, and Graham also knew them. Apart from their many mutual friends and interests, the two men shared a common belief in the urgent need for sincerity and real communication between the rulers and the ruled, if the Empire was to have a future in India. Thus Syed Ahmed felt that Graham's book illustrated that 'such friendship and sympathy is quite possible between Europeans and natives of India'. In actual practice, however, this relationship was one of the few exceptions to the general misunderstanding and ignorance that existed between the two races.

The uniqueness of a biography about an Indian by an Englishman at this time should not blind us to its limitations. Most important is that Graham's book includes no record of Sir Syed's last ten years. The author admits that after 1888 they never corresponded, yet 1888, the year when Sir Syed opposed the emerging Indian National

Congress most strenuously, was in many ways the turning point of his subject's career. Neither, of course, is there any mention of the development of Aligarh College in the crucial last few years of Sir Syed's life when the conflicts between his son Syed Mahmud and Viqar al-Mulk opened a new era in Muslim politics in Northern India. For all its importance as source material, serious objection can also be made to some aspects of Graham's treatment of Syed's earlier years. The book was obviously written for a European audience; little attempt was made to set Sir Syed against his Indian and Muslim background. We hear nothing about the objections of the more distinguished of his contemporaries, for instance of Nazir Ahmed, Akbar Allahabadi, and Shibli Numani. The former in fact voiced his criticisms of Sir Syed's westernized way of life in a satirical novel called 'Ibn al-Waqt' (The Time-Server). As an Islamic theologian he was criticised by his contemporaries, of all shades of political opinion. The 'Ulema' of Deoband under the leadership of Maulanas Gangohi and Nanotawi, issued 'fatwas' against his heretical 'Nechari' philosophy. Maulana Gangohi succeeded Maulana Nanotawi in 1880 as the chief spokesman of the Dar-al-ulum (a higher school of religious instruction) and as his main interest lay in 'Hadith and 'Fiqh' (Muslim jurisprudence), he even opposed the teaching of natural philosophy at Deoband.

Though Sir Syed considered religion an essential prerequisite to progress, he reasoned that the religious zealots were interpreting all aspects of life in the light of religion. The orthodox 'Ulema' overemphasized the four schools of 'Fiqh' (Laws) as an infallible dogma of Islam. In fact, the

concepts of 'ijtihad' and 'taqlid' (interpretation of the Quran and the Sunna) were to be exercised by every thinking Muslim for himself. Sir Syed believed that since the Caliphate had degenerated into hereditary monarchy, Muslim governments had ceased to owe allegiance to the sovereignty of Islamic law. Therefore his endeavours to weaken the Muslim attachment to the Caliphate were greeted with suspicion and distrust. The Pan-Islamic movement, led by Jamal al-Din Afghani and the Turkish Sultan, countered Sir Syed's efforts at every turn. For the majority of Muslims the final rupture with the Caliphate did not take place until it ceased to exist in 1924.

Thus, although Indian Muslims followed Sir Syed's lead in education and politics, his religious views provoked criticism within the community. Even at Aligarh attempts were made in the early years to control his religious authority in the college theology classes, at the request of the more orthodox parents and teachers. Ultimately a new generation of Muslim students thrived upon the enlightened rationalism propounded by Sir Syed.

Not all his contemporaries, however, were opposed to Sir Syed, and apart from the many and exacting offices that he held during his long lifetime, and the countless relationships that he maintained with friends, he managed to pursue his intellectual interests in history, philosophy, religion ('kalam') and politics. As early as 1844, when a civil servant in Fatehpur-Sikri, he studied the local antiquities with great accuracy, culminating in the publication of the 'Archaeological History of the Ruins of Delhi', for which he was elected a Fellow of the Royal Asiatic Society.

During the Mutiny of 1857, Sir Syed Ahmed held firmly

to the belief that the rulers were to be reconciled with the people rather than ousted, and he analysed the policies of the rulers which were misunderstood by the natives, as well as the unsympathetic attitudes of some short-sighted Englishmen, such as the missionaries, in 'The Causes of the Indian Revolt' (1858). Written in Urdu, this was translated by Sir Auckland Colvin and Graham himself, and published in English in 1873.

It is, however, unfortunate that not many of his numerous works shared this fate; the great majority of his books have never been translated into English, with the result that Graham's biography becomes even more important, as a primary source for those unacquainted with Urdu. Even attempts at writing his biography in Urdu have been largely uncritical (for instance, Altaf Hussayn Hali), and a scholarly biography by a modern historian is still awaited.

The weakness of Graham's book lies more in the limitations of the biographer than in any inadequacy in the distinguished subject; the Colonel was not a great stylist, as is evident from his repetition and from his diversions from the subject in hand. In fact, in many ways the first edition proved to be more of a political pamphlet. In his eagerness to portray Sir Syed as a westernised, emancipated and liberal figure, he omits to put him in the context of his Muslim contemporaries. There is little or no information about Sir Syed's colleagues at Aligarh and outside Northern India. Like any other Victorian biography, it is very conscious of status, this attitude being reinforced by a didactic and moralising tone and by a condescension towards the native subject. The English newspapers reacted predictably:

> '....how much may be done by private individuals towards promoting the culture as well as the well-being of the magnificent Empire in which they live.' (The Daily Telegraph)
>
> 'A book which should be read by all Englishmen who desire to know.... 'the brooding East'. And it should especially be read by all Englishmen, official or otherwise, whose lot may be cast in India.' (The Broad Arrow)

It can be said that in this, his only publication, Graham sought to justify the ways of a Muslim to non-Muslims, and that in this must lie the charm and value of the book. It is the portrait of an age and of a state of mind, of Victorian India. Graham's estimate of Sir Syed Ahmed as a 'loyal Citizen' was not complete, because, as he himself regretfully admits, he lost touch with Sir Syed from 1888 onwards, that is, in the more complicated political years of Sir Syed's career. Had Graham continued his acquaintance with Sir Syed, he would have been forced to reconsider the complex character with whom he was dealing. It is unfortunate that when the second (revised) edition of the book was published in 1909, it was not brought up to date.

Graham's book should not be seen merely as a passive reflection of the life and times of Syed Ahmed. For it was also a major step in the creation of the legend of Sir Syed Ahmed, which became a potent historical force in its own right. Graham first put forward the idea that it was through the educated Muslim Indians of Aligarh that the British rulers should communicate with their Indian Muslim subjects. But this belief helped to reinforce the position of Sir Syed and of Aligarh as the only channel of such

communication. The second stage in this process came with the book's second edition in 1909. This coincided with the attempts of the Aligarh leadership to create a permanent political organisation for Muslim India, in the formation of the Muslim League. Graham's addenda in the second edition reinforced the element of political pamphleteering which already existed in the first. He hoped that the Muslims would make a tactical alliance with the British Government against the Congress for the preservation of their national identity, and Sir Syed Ahmed and his works were invoked as precursors of their policy. It is, however, a very long way from the Ghazipore Translation Society to the Muslim League, and the reader of Graham's book must always beware of reading into the 1870's the communal conflicts of the twentieth century.

At the same time the importance of a book written by a Victorian Englishman in praise of a 'native', even one as distinguished and as acceptable as Sir Syed Ahmed, cannot be over-emphasized. In publishing such a book, Graham not only brought Sir Syed to the forefront of Muslim leaders of the late 19th century, but also made the India Office conscious of the desires and aspirations of a new generation of Muslim thinkers, a process which had been initiated some years previously by W.W. Hunter.

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Oxford

ZAITUNA Y. UMER

PREFACE.

It is now nearly a quarter of a century since Syed Ahmed's " Life " appeared in print. Soon after its publication he was made a K.C.S.I. Eleven years have elapsed since his death in 1898, and I have deemed it advisable to publish this new and cheap edition, including some of his hitherto unpublished letters to me, and an Appendix.

The book, like the 1885 edition, is a brief account of his life and work.

His name will be handed down to posterity as that of a man who was determined to do everything he could to bring his co-religionists into line with the rest of the world as regards education.

His main obstacle was their dislike to modern education.

The establishment of the Allygurh College was the crowning of his work, and it is by that work that his name will always be reverenced amongst Mohammedans and, indeed, by Indians of other creeds.

He had to face the keenest opposition and was even threatened with assassination.

He will also be remembered as one who did his utmost to bring about a good feeling between the rulers and the ruled, to make them a united brotherhood,

working hand in hand for the good of our great Empire.

It is a matter of pride to me that H.R.H. The Duke of Connaught, who knows India well, has permitted this new edition to be dedicated to him.

G. F. I. GRAHAM.

LONDON, E.C.,
November, 1909.

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LIFE AND WORK

OF

SIR SYED AHMED KHAN.

CHAPTER I.

BIRTH AND FAMILY—THE OLD COURT OF DELHI—ENTER THE BRITISH SERVICE—ARCHÆOLOGICAL HISTORY OF DELHI.

SYED AHMED KHAN, since the death of Sir Salar Jang the foremost Mohammedan in India as regards force of character, influence over his fellow-men, and literary ability, was born at Delhi on the 17th October 1817. His paternal and maternal ancestors were men of mark under the Mogul empire. His great-great-grandfather, Syed Hadi, was a native of Herat, who afterwards settled in Hindustan. His grandson, Syed Ahmed's grandfather, in the reign of Alamgir II. was given the titles of Jowahid Ali Khan and Jowadud Dowla, commander of 1000 foot and 500 horsemen, each of the

latter having two or three horses.[1] Syed Ahmed Khan's father, Syed Mohomad Takki, was a recluse—a man of deep religious feeling—and, on his father's death,[2] declined all titles from the Emperor, though offered those of his father.

Syed Ahmed's maternal grandfather was Khwajeh Fariduddin Ahmed, a man of great ability, who went to Calcutta about the year 1791, and accompanied the embassy sent in 1799 by Lord Wellesley to Persia as *attaché*. On his return to Calcutta he was appointed Political Officer at the Court of Ava, where he stayed some years, returned to Calcutta, and revisited his native city after a prolonged absence. Once more, in the reign of Akbar II., we find him at Calcutta. Soon afterwards Syed Ahmed Khan's father was offered the prime-ministership by the Emperor ; but he thanked his Majesty for this signal mark of his favour, and respectfully represented that his father-in-law at Calcutta was the best man for the post. Akbar acted upon his advice, sent for Khwajeh Fariduddin, and made him Prime Minister, with the title of Nawab Dabir ud Dowla[1] Amin ul Mulk Khwajeh Fariduddin Khan Bahadur Masleh Jang.[2] The Emperor, although a ruler but in name, clung with Eastern tenacity to the empty pomp of a Court, and titles were still of as great value in his and his courtiers' estimation as they had been in the palmy days of the Mogul empire. General Ochterlony was at this time the British Resident at Delhi, and he and the Prime Minister and Syed Ahmed

1 Persian of this is, "Hazarizat o Panj seh Sawar do o seh aspa."

2 Titles were not hereditary under the Mogul empire.

3 There were three orders of nobility: 1st those ending with "ul Mulk" which corresponds to our duke; 2d, those ending in "ud Dowla," or earl; and 3d, those ending in "Jang," or baron.

4 Trustee of the country and instructor of war.

Khan's father were close allies, the General being in the habit of visiting them at all hours of the day and night.

The Syed had an interesting relic of those days in the shape of a photograph of a picture taken by the then Court painter, the original being now in the possession of the artist's descendants at Delhi. In this, amongst the crowd of princes and nobles who are represented standing in two lines in front of the Emperor, are the figures of General Ochterlony and the Prime Minister side by side. The General is in full dress, cocked-hat on head, leaning on the *jarib*, or "staff of honour," given him by the Emperor. The Prime Minister has also the *jarib* in his hand. The scene is the famous *Diwan-i-Aam* or "general audience-hall" in the palace at Delhi, and the Emperor is depicted seated in state on the celebrated peacock throne. Khwajeh Fariduddin held the prime-ministership for eight or nine years.

Syed Ahmed, when about six years old, one day ran from the women's apartments to his grandfather's rooms, where, perceiving General Ochterlony seated with him, he turned to go back, but was recalled, and told to go and speak to the General. General Ochterlony took him on his knee, and after a little, the young Syed quietly asked him why he wore feathers in his hat (the General had been to Court and was in full dress), and so many gold buttons on his coat. The General was much amused at the youngster's curiosity, which remained ungratified. General Ochterlony not long after this—*i.e.*, in 1825—died of a broken heart at his supersession by Metcalfe. Khwajeh Fariduddin did not long survive him, as he died in the following year. Syed Ahmed's father, Syed Mohomad Takki, was the

most intimate of the Emperor's friends, and the only one permitted to sit in his presence. Etiquette prevented any one from sitting; so the Emperor, who sat on a small square platform with his legs crossed, would quietly let one foot hang down, and Syed Mohomad Takki would seat himself on the ground on the pretence of shampooing it: etiquette and convenience were thus mutually served. When a youth, Syed Ahmed used to be constantly in the palace, and often received robes of honour from the Emperor. One morning, when he should have been at Court to receive one of these marks of royal favour, he overslept himself. His horse, an old Deccani one, thirty years old, but still full of spirit, was brought to the door, and the Syed rode slowly—being afraid of its running away—to the palace. The official whose duty it was to give out the robes of honour in which the recipients appeared before the Emperor, called to him to be quick, put on his robe, and Syed Ahmed hurried into the presence. He found that the Emperor had risen from the throne and had entered the species of sedan-chair in which he used to be carried about the palace. Syed Ahmed's name, as was the custom, was called out by the chamberlain, and the Emperor mentioned his being late to the Syed's father, who was standing by him. The Emperor was not displeased, however, and after proceeding a short distance, stopped in the picture-chamber and sent for Syed Ahmed, took him by the hand, and asked him why he was late. The Syed replied that he had overslept himself, and that, as he was afraid of his horse running away with him, he had been delayed on the road. The courtiers were aghast at his daring to tell the truth, and hinted to him the necessity of saying something complimentary to the Emperor; but Syed

Ahmed insisted that it was nothing but the truth, and that he could give no other answer. The child was the father of the man. The Emperor laughed heartily, and himself invested the Syed with the usual necklace of pearls, and the jewel of honour for the head. The respect and esteem in which Syed Ahmed's father was held by the courtiers were enhanced by the Emperor's graciousness to his son.

On Khwajeh Fariduddin's death, Mohomad Takki Khan, as was the custom, went on the third day after the death to Court to receive the usual *khilat*, or robe of honour, which was given by the Emperor to denote that the time for mourning was over. Shah Alam was then on the throne, but the empire was in ruins. The Emperor sent his chamberlain to Mohomad Takki with a message to the effect that he would be presented with the usual *khilat* the next day in Durbar. Syed Ahmed's father sent back the message, that "as there is no army, and no place to fight, what is the use of the titles [his father-in-law's] to me?"

On his father's death in 1836, Syed Ahmed, who was then nineteen years old, was invested by Bahadur Shah, the last Emperor of Delhi, with his grandfather's titles, and with the additional one of Arif Jang, or Master of War. The only time that he was engaged in war—*i.e.*, in the Mutiny—he certainly did his best to do credit to his title. Syed Ahmed was educated at first at home by his mother, who up to his twelfth year used to make him repeat to her at night what he had learnt during the day. He learnt no English. In January 1837 he stopped his education, and, greatly against the inclination of his relatives, entered the British service as Shiristehdar of the Criminal Department in the Sadr Amin's office at Delhi. In February

1839 he was transferred to Agra as Naib Munshi or deputy reader in the office of the Commissioner of that Division, Mr. (afterwards Sir Robert) Hamilton. In December 1841 he became Munsif or Sub-Judge of Fatehpur Sikri, Akbar's capital for ten years, now famous for its ruins, and was transferred to Delhi in January 1846. The following letter from Sir Robert Hamilton is interesting, as showing that Syed Ahmed had already commenced his literary labours :—

MY DEAR LINDSAY,—It is not my habit to introduce people, but the bearer has been studying for employment, and you will see the fruits of his labours in his "Transcript and Analysis of the Regulations." He is of good family, and I had intended to give him a situation, which he deserves for his assiduity and exertions, if you will do something for him [*sic*]. He is very timid, but clever. Named Syed Ahmed.

COLIN LINDSAY, Esquire.

This letter is undated, but must have been written prior to the year 1846. The trace of timidity in Syed Ahmed soon passed, however, and in 1844 he wrote his second literary work, the "Archæological History of the Ruins of Delhi." This was but coldly received in England; but on a French translation of it by M. Garcin de Tassy appearing, it was appreciated according to its merits, and afterwards, in 1864, procured for Syed Ahmed the honour of a Fellowship of the Royal Asiatic Society. The following is the letter conferring this distinction upon him :—

ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY,
5, NEW BURLINGTON STREET, LONDON,
20th July, 1864.

DEAR SIR,—I have great pleasure in bringing to your notice that at a meeting of the Royal Asiatic Society, held on July 4th, you were unanimously created an

honorary member of the Society. The diploma seconding your election will be sent out to you as soon as a safe opportunity offers. In congratulating you on this well-deserved mark of distinction, I trust it may be gratifying to you to know that your researches on Indian antiquities are duly appreciated, both in this country and abroad.—I have, &c., your most obedient Servant,

REINHOLD ROST, *Secretary.*

A second edition of this work appeared in 1854.

CHAPTER II.

THE ANTIQUITIES OF DELHI—SUBORDINATE JUDGE OF BIJNORE.

Syed Ahmed commences his "Archæological History" with a list of 142 Hindu and 59 Mohammedan rulers of Delhi from the year 1400 B.C. up to 1853 A.D. He then gives a list of the various cities and forts which have composed it—nineteen in all. The name "Delhi" has been variously accounted for, some historians thinking that it was named after Dhalip, a ruler of Oudh, who lived prior to Raja Judishter, the first sovereign of Delhi mentioned by Syed Ahmed. He, however, does not believe this, as in old Hindu histories the city is always called "Inderpristh." He is of opinion that it was called after Raja Dehlu of Kanauj, to whom the Rajas of Inderpristh owed allegiance, and that its original name was Dehlu. This was about the time of the arrival of Alexander the Great, as Raja Dehlu was slain in battle by Raja Puru (the Porus of Alexander), who was afterwards defeated by the great conqueror on the Sutlej. This, Syed Ahmed says, points to the date of the city being called Dehlu, being about the year 328 B.C.

The Old Fort, situated about two miles to the south-east of the city, is said in the "Ain Akbari" to have

been built by Raja Anakpal Tonuri in the year 372 A.D., and other later historians have all taken this as correct. Syed Ahmed, however, points out the error of the author of the "Ain Akbari," as in the year 372 Anakpal was not the ruler, Raja Bhim Chand ruling from 368 to 380 A.D., and Anakpal not coming to the throne till the year 676 A.D., when, as is pointed out, he built this fort.

The Fort of Rai Pithora, the Chowhan Thakur ruler, was built by him in the year 1147 A.D. Although now in ruins, walls, &c., still remain, as also traces of embankments which served to store up water sufficient for the yearly wants of the inhabitants. Syed Ahmed measured the height of the remaining wall to the west, and found it to be sixty-five feet high.

The Ghazni Gate Fortification was called so from the fact that the Ghazni army entered the city through it. It is supposed to have been erected by Raja Rai Pithora.

The "White Palace" Fort, inside the last-named fort, was built by Kutub-ud-din Aibak in 1205 A.D.; and in it, at a grand Durbar in 1241 A.D., occurred the murder of Malik Ikhtyar-ud-din, the Prime Minister of Moiz-ud-din Bairam Shah. In it Sultan Nasir-ud-din Mahmud, son of Shamsh-ud-din Altamsh, was crowned; and here also the ambassador of Hailaki Khan was received by Sultan Nasir-ud-din in 1259 A.D.—the assembly to meet him being very numerous and imposing. Sultan Ghias-ud-din Balban was also crowned here. No trace of the fort is now to be found.

The Hell Fort.—There is one thing that Syed Ahmed tells of this building, which reminds one of the Sanctuary at Holyrood. "In Ghias-ud-din Balin's time it

was the custom that any malefactor who succeeded in getting into this fort could not be arrested." Its extraordinary name is not due to its builder, Sultan Ghias-ud-din Balin, as it was called by him Ghiaspur in 1267 A.D., the year that it was built. Succeeding generations must have given it this nickname.

The Noble Palace.—This palace was built by Sultan Moiz-ud-din Kai Kobad in 1286 A.D., and is famous as the resting-place of Humayum, the grandfather of Akbar the Great. The poet Amir Khusroh in the "Koran ul Sadin" says, "I call this not a palace—I call it Paradise."

The Palace of the Thousand Pillars.—This was built by Ala-ud-din Khilji in 1303 A.D., and in it thousands of the conquered Moguls were trampled to death by elephants, their heads being thrown in a heap outside the fort gate. It was also here, in 1311 A.D., that the Emperor received the prodigious plunder taken from the Carnatic,—*i.e.*, 312 elephants, 20,000 horses, 96 maunds (each 80 lb.) of gold, and hundreds of boxes filled with gold ornaments, pearls, and other jewels.

Toghlakabad.—Ghias-ud-din Toghlak Shah commenced this city and fort in 1321 A.D., and it was finished with great rejoicings in 1323 A.D. Syed Ahmed says that it is supposed to have consisted of fifty-six detached forts, and to have had fifty-two gates ; but it is in such a ruinous state now that it was impossible for him to verify this. Toghlakabad is twelve miles east of Delhi.

The Adilabad, alias *Mohommedabad or Thousand Pillars Fort*, was built in 1327 A.D. by Sultan Mahomed Adil Toghlak Shah close to Toghlakabad. Its thousand pillars were of marble, and it was built more as a pleasure-house than a fort.

The Firoz Shah Fort was built by the ruler of that name in 1354, and he brought to it the famous "pillar of Asoka" from Nohra in Khizrabad. This ruler also in this year commenced a new city called Firozabad, close to Delhi, which attained to a great size. It was five *kos*[1] long.

The Shooting Palace was built by Firoz Shah about 3 *kos* distant from Firozabad, and it was before it that the hosts of Timour encamped for the first time in 1398 A.D., before they attacked Delhi itself. There, also, is the second *lat* or pillar of Asoka, brought by Firoz Shah from the neighbourhood of Mirat.

The Mobarikabad Fort was commenced by Sultan Mobarik Shah in 1433 A.D., and he used personally to superintend its erection. Before it was finished, however, he was murdered in it by his nobles, who placed Mahomed Shah on the throne. It is commonly supposed that the site of this fort is where the tomb of Mobarik Shah faces that of Safder Jang, near which is the village called Mobarikpur Kotila. Syed Ahmed, however, did not agree to this, for the following reason. He said—"In the histories of that time it is distinctly said that Mobarik Shah built this fort on the banks of the river; and as it is undoubted that no river then ran alongside Mobarikpur Kotila, it therefore follows that the popular opinion as to the site of this fort is wrong. In my opinion, the real spot is the village of Mobarikpur Rethi (Sandy), on the banks of the Jumna."

The foregoing extracts have been taken from the first and second chapters of Syed Ahmed's work. The third chapter contains a description of the iron *lat* or

[1] A *kos* varies, according to the locality, from one and a half to two miles.

pillar made by Raja Dhawa in the year 895 B.C., now at the Kutub ; the Asoka pillar, called that of Firoz Shah, made by Raja Asoka in 298 B.C., now in the Firoz Shah Fort ; the Asoka pillar, made by the same Raja in the same year, now at the Shooting Palace ; the Anekpar Fort, built by Anekpal Tomar (a Rajput) in 676 A.D. ; the Anek tank, built by Anekpal in 676 A.D. ; the "Sun tank," built by Surajpal in 686 A.D. ; the temple at the Kutub ; and a number of other places,—amounting in all to 134.

The iron pillar at the Kutub is ornamented at the top. Its height is 22 feet 6 inches, and its girth is 5 feet 3 inches. There is a story to the effect that in Rai Pithora's time the pundits had buried this pillar on the head of Raja Bassik (according to Hindus, the Lord of the earth), in order that Rai Pithora's successors should always reign. This, however, is all nonsense, Syed Ahmed says. Three Sanskrit Slokes in the Nagri character are engraved on this pillar, and their meaning is, that the ruler of Scinde attacked Raja Dhawa with his army, but was defeated ; that the Raja made this pillar as a memento of his victory, but died before it was completed. Mr. James Prinsep writes that very little is known of this Raja, except that he was one of the Hastanapur Rajas. He says that the Nagri character in which the inscriptions on the pillar are written, was in vogue in the third and fourth centuries after Christ ; but he is of opinion that the pillar was made in the eight century A.D. Syed Ahmed joined issue with Mr. Prinsep on this point, and said that the history of the Rajas from 676 A.D., up to the time of the Mohammedan conquest, was complete and of undoubted credibility, and in them there is no mention of this Raja. Besides this, the fact of the date not

being on the pillar proved to Syed Ahmed's satisfaction that it must have been made prior to the time of Bikrmajit (11 A.D.), as after that ruler it was invariably the custom to mark the year of the completion of any work on it. Besides this, in the eighth century the Hastanapur dynasty had been long extinct. For these reasons, Syed Ahmed thought there could be no doubt as to the fact of its being of the time of Raja Dhawa, who was the nineteenth Raja of the Judishter dynasty; and although he had come to reside at Inderpristh, his ancient capital was Hastanapur, and he was for this reason called the Hastanapur Raja. He was of the Bishnavi sect, and this is proved by what is written on the pillar. Many historians make out that Raja Dhawa ruled in the year 1905 B.C.; but English historians who have correctly worked out the time of Raja Judishter, prove that Raja Dhawa's reign commenced in the year 895 B.C. Syed Ahmed also thought that the pillar was at first incomplete, but that later on some Raja inscribed the present inscription on it, in order to show why Raja Dhawa had had it made, and that this Raja then placed the pillar in the ground, probably in either the third or fourth century after Christ. When Raja Rai Pithora built a fort and temple, this pillar was included in the latter; and when Kutub-ud-din Aibak destroyed the temple and built a mosque, it was included in the latter. There it still stands.

The Asoka, or Firoz Shah pillar, is of stone, and was one of five, one of which was at Radhia, one at Mahtab, one at Allahabad, one near Mirat, and the fifth at the village of Nohreh. All five were made by Raja Asokah, *alias* Biassi; and on it there are two inscriptions—the first with this Raja's name on it—both written in the Pali and Sanskrit languages. The letters are very old

—prior to those of the Deonagri type. The inscriptions teach the Buddhist tenets—tell us not to harm any living thing, and not to punish malefactors with death or the cutting off of a limb. For many centuries no one could read this ; and Firoz Shah was also unable to decipher it, although he assembled many pundits for the purpose. Mr. James Prinsep discovered the key, and he says that Raja Asoka was the grandson of Chander Gupta, and the Subahdar of Ujein, and that he began to reign in the year 325 B.C. He constructed this pillar in the year 298 B.C. Mohammedan historians say that this Raja was a Cashmere Raja, and that the whole of Hindustan, including Canouj, was under him. There was some discussion on religious matters, which his subjects resented, and dethroned him. Owing to the religious tone of the inscription on this pillar, it is pretty certain that it was made by the Raja Asoka, who was ruler of Cashmere. These historians say that this ruler was on the throne in the year 1373 B.C., but Syed Ahmed agreed with Mr. Prinsep as to the date of his reign. The second inscription on it is by Beldeo Chowhan, who was formerly Beldeo Raja of Samber, the birthplace of the Chowhans, and who inscribed his name on this pillar. Assembling an army, he attacked and conquered the Tenurs, who were the rulers of Delhi. In the year 1163 A.D., Rai Pithora inscribed on this pillar the victories of his ancestors in the Nagri writing and Sanskrit tongue.

The foregoing summary will be sufficient to show the nature of the contents of this work, and to bear witness to Syed Ahmed's labour and power of research.

In 1850, Syed Ahmed was posted to Rohtak as subordinate judge ; and in 1855 he was transferred in the same capacity to Bijnore, where he remained till the Mutiny broke out in May 1857.

CHAPTER III.

THE MUTINY AT BIJNORE—ATTACK ON THE JAIL—INTERVIEWS WITH A REBEL CHIEF—ESCAPE OF THE EUROPEANS—MADE ADMINISTRATOR OF THE DISTRICT—ESCAPE TO MEERUT—VISIT TO HIS ANCESTRAL HOME IN DELHI—REWARDS FOR SERVICES.

DURING the anxious weeks that the English ladies, gentlemen, and children remained in Bijnore, Syed Ahmed Khan did all that man could do to render their stay safe, and was ultimately the means of saving the whole party. As Sir John Strachey, late Lieutenant-Governor of the North-West Provinces, said of him in a speech at Allygurh, on the 11th December 1880: "No man ever gave nobler proofs of conspicuous courage and loyalty to the British Government than were given by him in 1857: no language that I could use would be worthy of the devotion he showed." A short account of what he did do on this memorable occasion may prove interesting. When the news of the Meerut mutiny reached Bijnore on the 13th May, there were the following European residents at that place: Mr. and Mrs. Shakespeare, C.S., and child; Mr. Palmer; Dr. and Mrs. Knight; Mr. R. Currie, C.S.; Mr. Lemaistre, Mrs. Lemaistre, and three children; Mr. Johnson; Mr. and Mrs. Murphy, and four children;

and Mr. Cawood. Syed Ahmed was Mr. Shakespeare's right hand in raising a body of 100 Pathan horse and foot; and he also organised an intelligence department, which brought daily news from Muradabad and Bareilly.

About the end of May the bad characters of the neighbouring villages attacked the jail. Some of the prisoners escaped; but the jail-guards fired at and dispersed their assailants, and a large number of the prisoners remained in custody. Syed Ahmed, Mr. Shakespeare, and others, ran over on foot and aided in the suppression of the *émeute*. Apprehensive of the safety of the treasure, Syed Ahmed, with the consent of the Magistrate, had it all thrown into a well. A few days afterwards, when the Roorkee mutineers reached Bijnore, matters became very critical. Two of their subadars or native officers had an interview with Mr. Shakespeare and Syed Ahmed, and it was mainly owing to the arguments of the latter that they left the Europeans unmolested, and proceeded on their way to join Bakht Khan, the commander of the rebel forces at Bareilly. Later on news was received of the intended march of Bakht Khan at the head of the Bareilly mutineers on Bijnore, and matters looked gloomy indeed. The relief was great when it was ascertained that he was marching on Delhi by another route. Syed Ahmed now found that his Pathans were in league with Nawab Mahmud Khan, a rebel chief, the son of Gholam Moiddin Khan, *alias* Bambu Khan, and nephew of Gholam Kadir Khan, who put out the eyes of Shah Alam, Emperor of Delhi. Syed Ahmed endeavoured to win him over to the side of the British, and sent him several messages, but his efforts were not attended with success. One night at 8 P.M. Syed Ahmed heard that

the Europeans, who were all in one house, were being surrounded by Mahmud Khan and his men, 800 strong, who had marched rapidly and secretly on Bijnore. Running over by a back way which he had had constructed, accompanied by Mir Turab Ally Tehsildar, Rehmat Khan, Deputy-Collector, and Pertab Sing (now Raja) of Tajpur, he found the house almost surrounded, but luckily managed to get in undetected. A hurried conference was held, and it was urged by the Europeans that some one should go and have an interview with Mahmud Khan, who was by this time seated on a large bed some distance outside. Syed Ahmed volunteered, took off his sword and pistol, and although urged to retain them by Messrs. Shakespeare and Currie, went out to the meeting unarmed. All around were the rebel sentries, and Syed Ahmed was at once challenged by one of them, and told not to proceed. Still pressing on, he was challenged by another sentry, so he called out to the Nawab, saying that he had come to have an interview with him, and was a man of the pen and unarmed. Being allowed to proceed, he went up to the Nawab and begged him to speak with him aside.

The Nawab said, "We are all brothers here; say what you have to say before us all." Syed Ahmed whispered to him that matters relating to the taking of a province should not be talked over in public, on which the Nawab rose and accompanied him some distance apart. Syed Ahmed said, "I have neither arms nor money, but please accept my *nuzzur* (offering) by putting your hand on mine; *mubarik ho* (be glad), you have received the country of your ancestors. What is to be done with the Europeans inside that house?" The Nawab asked him what he would recommend, and Syed Ahmed said, "There are two courses open to you—the

one, that you and I go in with a few men and massacre them; but as Delhi may soon fall, it might be dangerous were the English to get the upper hand, and we had massacred these people. The other is, that I should get the English to go away, after formally making over to you the whole country." The Nawab said, "How is that to be done?" And Syed Ahmed said, "On one condition—*i.e.*, that you solemnly swear that when they go they shall not be molested." The Nawab agreed to this—stipulating, however, that the English were to be got away by 2 A.M. the next morning. Syed Ahmed made him swear to this, and returned to his friends inside, who, as may be imagined, were anxiously awaiting his arrival. He told Mr. Shakespeare of the above conversation, and that officer agreed to the Nawab's proposal. Syed Ahmed returned to the Nawab, told him of Mr. Shakespeare's decision, and begged him to return with him into the house to receive the necessary documents. The Nawab hesitated to go in alone, but Syed Ahmed overcame his fears by assuring him of his perfect safety. The party inside were therefore astonished and delighted at seeing the Nawab walk in with their plucky ambassador. After a few words with the Nawab, Mr. Shakespeare asked Syed Ahmed to prepare the document in Persian, and Syed Ahmed so framed it that it only conferred the country on the Nawab till the English returned to claim it! This was signed and sealed by Mr. Shakespeare, and delivered by Syed Ahmed to the Nawab. The keys of the treasury (the treasure had been recovered from the well into which it had been thrown), &c., were also made over to him. The Nawab then returned to his men, reiterating his wish to Syed Ahmed that the English should evacuate the place by 2 A.M. It was

now past midnight, not a horse or carriage, or other vehicle, was apparently to be obtained, and Mr. Shakespeare told Syed Ahmed that he had not a rupee in his pocket! Once more did Syed Ahmed go to the Nawab, represent that it was he only, the ruler of the country, who could provide the necessary carriage for the party. The Nawab thereupon gave him two elephants, and, after some trouble, a bullock-cart was also procured. Syed Ahmed then told the Nawab that he had no money, and the Nawab took him to the treasury and gave him Rs.3000. The cavalcade of men. women, and children started at 2 A.M. on the elephants and cart, guarded by four of Syed Ahmed's Sawars and four of the Nawab's, and Syed Ahmed, Torab Ally, and Rehmat Khan on foot. After escorting them through the Nawab's men, and accompanying them a couple of miles farther on, the three latter made for Bassaye Kotla, about 12 miles off. Mr. Shakespeare and party arrived safely at Meerut, after a fatiguing and at times hazardous journey. Syed Ahmed remained in the Bijnore district, and was offered charge of the same by the Nawab, who said that as he had given him the district, no one was better fitted than he to govern it. Syed Ahmed agreed to accept the charge if the Nawab would lay out *daks* (posts) to Meerut and Roorkee, if he would keep the English there informed of all that went on, and if he would obey any instructions sent by them to him. If so, Syed Ahmed told him that he would exert his influence with the English, and would get them to give him, the Nawab, a larger estate and a higher position than those formerly held by his ancestor Zabteh Khan. The Nawab declined the proposal. Three Hindu landowners, the Chowdries and Haldour and Tajpur,

gathered their retainers together, and attacked and defeated the Nawab's forces. Syed Ahmed wrote a detailed account of this to the Commissioner of Meerut, and Mr. Cracroft Wilson, Special Commissioner, who at once wrote directing him to take over the administration of the district for the British Government, in conjunction with Deputy-Collector Mehmud Rehmat Khan and Mir Turab Ally Tehsildar. Syed Ahmed did so, and had the news proclaimed by beat of drum throughout the district.

For nearly a month all remained quiet, and mail-runners were sent regularly between Bijnore and Meerut. Unfortunately, contrary to Syed Ahmed's urgent remonstrances, the Haldour Chowdry attacked and plundered the Mohammedan village of Nagina, and slaughtered a number of its inhabitants. The Mohammedans, however, rallied, drove out the Chowdry's men, went in a body to the Nawab, and represented that, as the English Government could afford them no protection, he should take over the administration of the district. The Nawab accordingly attacked Bijnore with a large following and captured it. Syed Ahmed fled to Haldour. All the Mohammedans were against him, being under the impression that he had either instigated or sanctioned the Chowdry's raid on Nagina. The Nawab attacked and took Haldour, and Syed Ahmed fled to the village of Chandpur, where he, on foot, footsore and weary, was surrounded by a crowd of Mohammedans, several thousand strong, who yelled out, "There is the man who brought about the massacre of Mohammedans at Nagina!" Aided by some friends, he managed with great difficulty to elude them, and reached Meerut after several weeks' exposure and danger. *En route*, at Garhmukteshur, a ferry on the

Ganges, he heard of the fall of Delhi, so that it was towards the end of September, after four months of anxiety and peril, that he arrived in safety at the English cantonment.

Towards the end of September he visited his home at Delhi, just after the taking of the city. On reaching his house, he heard that his mother had taken refuge in one of her *syce's* (horse-attendant's) houses, and he followed her there. On his calling out to her she opened the door, crying out, "Why have you come here? All are being killed. You will be killed also!" He told her not to be afraid, as he had a special pass. He then found out that for five days she had been living on the horses' grain, and was very weak. For three days she had had no water. He hurried off to the fort, and brought a jug of water. An old female servant who was with his mother, and who was also suffering intensely from thirst, was first met by him on his return, and he poured out some water for her, and told her to drink. The faithful old woman told him to take it to her mistress, saying that she required it most. Syed Ahmed made her drink, and the poor woman, after drinking a little, fell back, and in a few moments was a corpse! Syed Ahmed's distress may be imagined. He took his mother back with him to Meerut, but the shock and anxiety of mind that she had suffered during the siege and at the assault were too much for her, and she died a month afterwards. Syed Ahmed's uncle and cousin, whose house adjoined his at Delhi, were slain unarmed by the infuriated Sikhs three days after the assault. They were as loyal as Syed Ahmed himself; but at that dreadful time many innocent men, I grieve to say, suffered for the sins of the guilty.

On the formation of the Rohilkhand column, he accompanied it with Mr. Shakespeare as far as Roorkee, and was present at the battle of Amsoth. He then returned to his duty at Bijnore, whence, in July 1858, he was transferred to Moradabad. For his services in the Mutiny he received a special pension of Rs.200 *per mensem* for his and his eldest son's life, and a *khilat* of one cap of four cones, one *gashwara* or outer turban, one *neem astin* or jacket, one pair of shawls, one belt, one *jugha* or coat, one *surpech* or turban of honour, one pearl necklace, and one sword. In recommending him for the former, Mr. Shakespeare, whose life he had saved, wrote officially as follows to Mr. Alexander, Commissioner of Rohilkhand :—

The position in which this district stood at the commencement of the rebellion is well known to you. There were no troops of any kind attached to it, and it was not, therefore, necessary to guard against danger on this account, except on the two occasions when a small number of sepoys were with us for a few days. Our chief difficulty was to keep the peace of the district, and prevent any overt act of violence on the part of the Nawab and his retainers, with very insufficient means for so doing. I do not think our flight could possibly have been delayed so long as it was had it not been for the unwearied zeal shown by the officers, whom I mention together, because it was in consultation with them collectively that I laid my plans, when matters began to assume a very serious aspect, and it became necessary to treat the Nawab—who by this time had collected round him a considerable number of armed followers—with the utmost circumspection. At the last, on the night on which we were compelled to leave the station, I have good reason to know that but for the interposition of the Sudder Ameen [Syed Ahmed] especially, the Nawab would have given licence to his followers, the result of which must have been fatal to our party. . . .

The hopes inspired amongst the Mussulmans of the district by the protracted siege of Delhi subsequently

placed these officers in a very critical position. But they never appear for a moment to have entertained a doubt of our final success ; and on receiving the necessary authority to assume charge of the district, the Deputy-Collector and Sudder Ameen at once did so, and with the aid of the chief Hindu landholders, were doing much towards restoring order, when they were compelled, on the 23d of August, to fly to Huldour, which town was shortly afterwards attacked and taken by the Mussulmans, after a stout resistance on the part of the Rajputs and other Hindus who have throughout stood firm in their allegiance.

On this disaster occurring, the Deputy-Collector and Sudder Ameen, with many more, made their escape, and after running great risk at Chandpore, the Deputy-Collector going in the first instance to his home at Khurja, and the Sudder Ameen coming to Meerut. . . . All the three officers on whom I am reporting have shown conspicuous loyalty ; but if I were required to draw a distinction, I should do so in favour of Syed Ahmed Khan, whose clear sound judgment, and rare uprightness and zeal; could scarcely be surpassed. I recommend that, in appreciation of his peculiar claims to reward, as having been mainly instrumental in securing the escape of the whole of the Bijnore party of Europeans, and of his subsequent services when the district was made over to him and the Deputy-Collector, he should receive a pension in perpetuity, or for his own life and that of his eldest son, of Rs.200 *per mensem*.

His losses have been very heavy, his family being resident at Delhi at the commencement of the outbreak. The whole of his property at that place was pillaged, it having been brought to the notice of the rebels that he was a loyal subject of our Government.

CHAPTER IV.

"THE CAUSES OF THE INDIAN REVOLT"—PRIMARY CAUSE OF THE REBELLION—NON-ADMISSION OF A NATIVE TO THE LEGISLATIVE COUNCIL—STATE INTERFERENCE WITH RELIGION—MISSIONARY SCHOOLS—REVENUE AND LAND ADMINISTRATION—NECESSITY OF MUTUAL SYMPATHY BETWEEN GOVERNORS AND GOVERNED—ARMY SYSTEM.

In 1858 Syed Ahmed wrote in Urdoo, "The Causes of the Indian Revolt," which was not, however, translated and published in English till the year 1873. The translators were Sir Auckland Colvin and myself. In his preface he says: "The following pages, though written in 1858, have not yet been published. I publish them now, as, although many years have elapsed since they were indited, nothing has occurred to cause me to change my opinions. An honest exposition of native ideas is all that our Government requires to enable it to hold the country, with the full concurrence of its inhabitants, and not merely by the sword." True and manly words these. Although some of us may not agree with Syed Ahmed's "Causes of the Revolt," the pamphlet is exceedingly valuable, as giving us an insight into native modes of thought, and as written by the ablest of our loyal Mohammedan gentlemen. The following

extracts may prove interesting to those of my readers who have not yet read the pamphlet :—

The primary causes of rebellion are, I fancy, everywhere the same. It invariably results from the existence of a policy obnoxious to the dispositions, aims, habits and views of those by whom the rebellion is brought about. . . .

As regards the Rebellion of 1857, the fact is, that for a long period many grievances had been rankling in the hearts of the people. In course of time, a vast store of explosive material had been collected. . . .

The manner in which the rebellion spread, first here, then there, now breaking out in this place and now in that, is alone good proof that there existed no widespread conspiracy.

Nor is there the slightest reason for thinking that the rebels in Hindustan received any aid from Russia or from Persia. As between Roman Catholics and Protestants, so between the Mussulman of Persia and of Hindustan, cordial co-operation is impossible. . . .

I see nothing strange in the fact, if fact it were, of the ex-king of Delhi having written a *farmán* to the Persians. The ex-king had a fixed idea that he could transform himself into a fly or gnat, and that he could in this guise convey himself to other countries, and learn what was going on there. Seriously, he firmly believed that he possessed the power of transformation.

No doubt men of all classes were irritated at the annexation of Oudh ; all agreed in thinking that the Honourable East India Company had acted in defiance of its treaties, and in contempt of the word which it had pledged. The people of Oudh felt on this occasion much as other men have felt whose countries have been annexed by the East India Company. What I mean is, that the men who would be the most irritated and dismayed at such a step, were the noblemen and independent princes of Hindustan. These all saw that sooner or later such a policy must lead to the overthrow of their own independence, and confiscation of their own lands. Nevertheless we find that there was not one of the great landed princes who espoused the rebel cause. The mutineers were for the most part men who had nothing to lose—the governed, not the governing class. . . .

There are no grounds for supposing that the Mohammedans had for a long time been conspiring or plotting a simultaneous rise or a religious crusade against the professors of a different faith. The English Government does not interfere with the Mohammedans in the practice of their religion. For this sole reason it is impossible that the idea of religious crusade should have been entertained. Thirty-five years ago a celebrated Moulvie, Muhammad Ismael by name, preached a religious crusade in Hindustan, and called upon all men to aid him in carrying it out. But on that occasion he distinctly stated that natives of Hindustan, subject to the British Government, could not conscientiously take part in a religious war within the limits of Hindustan. Accordingly, while thousands of Jehadees congregated in every district of Hindustan, there was no sort of disturbance raised within British territory. Going northwards, these men crossed the Panjab frontier, and waged war in those parts of the country. And even if we should imitate the know-nothings in the various districts and call the late disturbance a religious war, it is very certain that no preparations were made for it before the 10th of May 1857.

In Syed Ahmed's opinion the original cause of the outbreak was the non-admission of a native into the Legislative Council. He says :—

For centuries, many able and thoughtful men have concurred in the views that all treatises and works on the principles of government, all histories either of the one or the other hemisphere are witnesses to the soundness of my opinions.

Most men agree in thinking that it is highly conducive to the welfare and prosperity of Government—indeed, is essential to its stabilitv—that the people should have a voice in its councils. It is from the voice of the people only that Government can learn whether its projects are likely to be well received. The voice of the people can alone check errors in the bud, and warn us of dangers before they burst upon and destroy us.

A needle may dam the gushing rivulet : an elephant must turn aside from the swollen torrent. This voice, however, can never be heard, and this security never

acquired, unless the people are allowed a share in the consultations of Government. The men who have ruled India should never have forgotten that they were here in the position of foreigners—that they differed from its natives in religion, in customs, in habits of life and of thought. The security of a Government is founded on its knowledge of the character of the governed, as well as on its careful observance of their rights and privileges. They are in every instance the inheritance of the peculiar race. It is to the differences of thought and of custom that laws must be adapted, for they cannot be adapted to the laws. In their due observance lies the welfare and security of Government. From the beginning of things, to disregard these has been to disregard the nature of man, and the neglect of them has ever been the cause of universal discontent. . . .

The evils which resulted to India from the non-admission of natives into the Legislative Council of India were various. Government could never know the inadvisability of the laws and regulations which it passed. It could never hear as it ought to have heard the voice of the people on such a subject. The people had no means of protesting against what they might feel to be a foolish measure, or of giving public expression to their own wishes. But the greatest mischief lay in this, that the people misunderstood the views and the intentions of Government. They misapprehended every act, and whatever law was passed was misconstrued by men who had no share in the framing of it, and hence no means of judging of its spirit. At length the Hindustanees fell into the habit of thinking that all the laws were passed with a view to degrade and ruin them, and to deprive them and their fellows of their religion. Such acts as were repugnant to native customs and character, whether in themselves good or bad, increased this suspicion. At last came the time when all men looked upon the English Government as slow poison, a rope of sand, a treacherous flame of fire. They learned to think that if to-day they escaped from the hands of Government, to-morrow they would fall into them ; or that even if they escaped on the morrow, the third day would see their ruin. There was no man to reason with them, no one to point out to them the absurdity of such ideas. . . .

I do not wish to enter into the question as to how the ignorant and uneducated natives of Hindustan could be allowed a share in the deliberations of the Legislative Council, or as to how they should be selected to form an assembly like the English Parliament. These are knotty points. All I wish to prove here is, that such a step is not only advisable, but absolutely necessary, and that the disturbances are due to the neglect of such a measure.

This mistake of the Government made itself felt in every matter connected with Hindustan. All causes of rebellion, however various, can be traced to this one. And if we look at these various causes separately and distinctly, we shall, I think, find that they may be classed under five heads :—

1. Ignorance on the part of the people ; by which I mean misapprehension of the intentions of Government.

2. The passing of such laws and regulations and forms of procedure as jarred with the established customs and practice of Hindustan, and the introduction of such as were in themselves objectionable.

3. Ignorance on the part of the Government of the condition of the people, of their modes of thought and of life, and of the grievances through which their hearts were becoming estranged.

4. The neglect on the part of our rulers of such points as were essential to the good government of Hindustan.

5. The bad management and disaffection of the army. . . .

I would here say that I do not wish it to be understood that the views of Government were in reality such as have been imputed to them. I only wish to say that they were misconstrued by the people, and that this misconstruction hurried on the rebellion. Had there been a native of Hindustan in the Legislative Council, the people would never have fallen into such errors.

Interference in Matters of Religion.—There is not the smallest doubt that all men, whether ignorant or well-informed, whether high or low, felt a firm conviction that the English Government was bent on interfering with their religion, and with their old-established

customs. They believed that Government intended to force the Christian religion and foreign customs upon Hindu and Mussulman alike. This was the chief among the secondary causes of the rebellion. It was believed by every one that Government was slowly but surely developing its plans. Every step, it was thought, was being taken with the most extreme caution. Hence it is that men said that Government does not speak of proselytising Mohammedans summarily and by force; but it will throw off the veil as it feels itself stronger, and will act with greater decision. Events increased and strengthened this conviction. Men never thought that our Government would openly compel them to change their religion. The idea was, that indirect steps would be taken. It was supposed that Government would, by making the people deprived of a knowledge of their own faith, work on the cupidity and poverty of its subjects, and, on condition of their abjuring their faith, offer them employment in its own service.

In the year 1837, the year of the great drought, the step which was taken of rearing orphans in the principles of the Christian faith, was looked upon throughout the North-West Provinces as an example of the schemes of Government. It was supposed that when Government had similarly brought all Hindustanees to a pitch of ignorance and poverty, it would convert them to its own creed. The Hindustanees used to feel an increasing dismay at the annexation of each successive country by the Honourable East India Company.

In the first days of British rule in Hindustan, there used to be less talk than at present on the subject of religion. It has been commonly believed that Government appointed missionaries and maintained them at its own cost. It has been supposed that Government, and the officers of Government throughout the country, were in the habit of giving large sums of money to these missionaries, with the intention of covering their expenses, enabling them to distribute books, and in every way aiding them. Many covenanted officers and many military men have been in the habit of talking to their subordinates about religion; some of them would bid their servants come to their houses and listen to the preaching of missionaries, and

thus it happened that in the course of time no man felt sure that his creed would last even his own lifetime.

The missionaries, moreover, introduced a new system of preaching. They took to printing and circulating controversial tracts, in the shape of questions and answers. Men of a different faith were spoken of in those tracts in a most offensive and irritating way. In Hindustan these things have always been managed very differently. Every man in this country preaches and explains his views in his own mosque or his own house. If any one wishes to listen to him, he can go to the mosque or house and hear what he has to say. But the missionaries' plan was exactly the opposite. They used to attend places of public resort—markets, for instance, and fairs, where men of different creeds were collected together—and used to begin preaching there. It was only from fear of the authorities that no one bade them be off about their business. In some districts the missionaries were actually attended by policemen from the station. And then the missionaries did not confine themselves to explaining the doctrines of their own books. In violent and unmeasured language they attacked the followers and the holy places of other creeds, annoying and insulting beyond expression the feelings of those who listened to them. In this way, too, the seeds of discontent were sown deep in the hearts of the people.

Then missionary schools were started in which the principles of the Christian faith were taught. Men said it was by the order of Government. In some districts covenanted officers of high position and of great influence used to visit the schools and encourage the people to attend them ; examinations were held in books which taught the tenets of the Christian religion. Lads who attended the schools used to be asked such questions as the following, "Who is your God?" "Who is your Redeemer?" and these questions they were obliged to answer agreeably to the Christian belief—prizes being given accordingly. This again added to the prevailing ill-will. But it may be said with some justice, "If the people were not satisfied with this course of education, why did they let their children go to the schools?" The fact is, that we have here no question of like or dislike. On the contrary, we must

account for this by the painfully degraded and ignorant state of the people. They believed that if their children were entered at the schools, they might have employment given them by Government, and be enabled to find some means of subsistence. Hence they put up with a state of affairs in reality disagreeable enough to them. But it must not be thought that they ever liked those schools.

When the village schools were established, the general belief was that they were instituted solely with the view of teaching the doctrines of Jesus. The pergunnah visitors and deputy inspectors who used to go from village to village and town to town advising the people to enter their children at these schools, got the nickname of native clergymen. When the pergunnah visitor or deputy inspector entered any village, the people used to say that the native clergyman had come. Their sole idea was, that these were Christian schools, established with the view of converting them. Well-informed men, although they did not credit this, saw nevertheless that in these schools nothing but Urdu was taught. They were afraid that boys while reading only Urdu would forget the tenets of their own faith, and that they would thus drift into Christianity. They believed, also, that Government wished such books as bore upon the doctrines of the former religions of Hindustan to fall into entire disuse. This was to be done with the view of ensuring the spread of Christianity. In many of the eastern districts of Hindustan where these schools were established, boys were entered at them by compulsion, and by compulsion only. It was currently reported that all this was in pursuance of the orders of Government.

There was at the same time a great deal of talk in Hindustan about female education. Men believed it to be the wish of Government that girls should attend and be taught at these schools, and leave off the habit of sitting veiled. Anything more obnoxious than this to the feelings of the Hindustanees cannot be conceived. In some districts the practice was actually introduced. The pergunnah visitors and deputy inspectors hoped, by enforcing the attendance of girls, to gain credit with their superior. In every way, therefore, right or wrong, they tried to carry out their object. Here,

then, was another cause of discontent among the people, through which they became confirmed in error.

The large colleges established in the towns were from the first a source of suspicion. At the time of their establishment Shah Abdulazeez, a celebrated Moulvie of Hindustan, was alive. The Mohammedans asked him for a *fatwa* on the subject. His answer was distinct. "Go," he said, "read in the English colleges, and learn the English tongue. The laws of Islam admit it." Acting on this opinion the Mohammedans did not hesitate to enter these colleges. At that time, however, the colleges were conducted on a principle widely different from that which is at present adopted. Arabic, Persian, Sanskrit, and English were equally taught. The "Fickah," "Hadees," and other such books, were read. Examinations were held in the "Fickah," for which certificates of proficiency were given. Religion was not in any way thrust forward. The professors were men of worth and weight—all scholars of great reputation, wide knowledge, and sound moral character. But all this has been changed. The study of Arabic is little thought of. The "Fickah" and "Hadees" were suddenly dropped. Persian is almost entirely neglected. Books and methods of teaching have been changed. But the study of Urdu and of English has greatly increased. All this has tended to strengthen the idea that Government wished to wipe out the religions which it found in Hindustan.

Such was the state of the village schools and the colleges, such the general feeling of distrust throughout the country as to the views of Government about conversion, when a proclamation was issued by Government to the following effect: Whoever had studied and passed an examination in certain sciences and in the English language, and had received a certificate to that effect, was to be considered as having prior claims for employment in the public service. Petty appointments were granted on the production of certificates from the deputy inspectors—the very men who had hitherto been nicknamed native clergymen. This came as a blow to every one. Suspicion increased tenfoid. The rumour again rose that Government wished to deprive the Hindustanees of all means of subsistence,

and by impoverishing them gradually, to substitute its own religion in the place of theirs. . . .

The laws providing for the resumption of revenue free lands, the last of which was Regulation 6 of 1819, were most obnoxious. Nothing disgusted the natives of this country more with the English Government than this resumption of revenue free lands. Sir T. Munro and the Duke of Wellington said truly enough that to resume lands granted revenue free, was to set the whole people against us, and to make beggars of the masses. I cannot describe the odium and the hatred which this act brought on Government, or the extent to which it beggared the people. Many lands which had been held revenue free for centuries were suddenly resumed on the flimsiest pretexts. The people said that Government not only did nothing for them itself, but undid what former Governments had done. This measure altogether lost for the Government the confidence of its subjects.

In the first days of British rule, sales of landed property were so numerous that the whole country was turned upside down. To remedy this, Government passed the law which is called Regulation 1 of 1821, and appointed a Commission of Inquiry. This Commission, however, gave rise to a thousand other evils. After all, the affair was not brought to a satisfactory conclusion, and at last the Commission was abolished. All I now say is, that whether this system of sales was the result of necessity or of ignorance, it has at all events had a hand in bringing on the rebellion. The claim of the Government lies, I take it, upon the produce of the land, not upon the land itself.

There is no doubt that Government were but slightly acquainted with the unhappy state of the people. How could it well be otherwise? There was no real communication between the governors and the governed, no living together or near one another, as has always been the custom of the Mohammedans in countries which they subjected to their rule. Government and its officials have never adopted this course, without which no real knowledge of the people can be gained. It is, however, not easy to see how this can be done by the English, as they almost all look forward to retire-

ment in their native land, and seldom settle for good amongst the natives of India.

The people, again, having no voice in the government of the country, could not well better their condition; and if they did try to make themselves heard by means of petitions, these same petitions were seldom if ever attended to, and sometimes never even heard.

Government, it is true, received reports from its subordinate officials; but even these officials themselves were ignorant of the real thoughts and opinions of the people, because they had no means of getting at them.

Now the Government ought to have received the complaints and petitions of its people direct, and not, as it did, invariably by reports from its district officers.

I feel it most necessary to say that which is in my heart, and which I believe to be true, even at the risk of its being distasteful to many of the ruling race. I maintain that the maintenance of friendly relations between the governors and the governed is far more necessary than between individuals: private friendships only affect a few, friendship and good feeling between a Government and its subjects affect a nation. As in private friendships two persons are united by the bond of a common friendship, so also should a Government and its people be knit together in like manner. *The people and the Government* I may liken to a tree, the latter being the root, and the former the growth of that root. As the root is, so will the tree be. Friendship, intercourse, and sympathy are therefore not wholly dependent for their existence on the givers and recipients being of the same religion, race, or country.

Does not the Apostle Paul admonish us in these beautiful words?—"And the Lord make you to increase and abound in love one toward another, and toward all men, even as we do toward you" (1st Epistle of Paul to the Thessalonians, iii. 12). And does not Jesus admonish us in these?—"Therefore all things whatsoever ye would that men should do to you, do ye even so to them: for this is the law and the prophets" (Matt. vii. 12).

These were meant to inculcate friendship and love to all men; and no one, no wise and thoughtful man, will say that the admonition is wrong, that friendship and love to our fellow-men are not beneficial, that their

results are *nil*, and that they do not blot out much that is wicked. As yet, truth compels me to state, Government has not cultivated the friendship of its people, as was its duty to do. The Creator has instilled it into the heart of man and the instinct of animals, that the strong should be kind to and care for the weak. The father loves his child before the child loves him. The man tries to win the woman, not the woman the man. If a man of low degree try to win the esteem of one in high position, he is liable to be styled a flatterer and not a friend. It was, therefore, for Government to try and win the friendship of its subjects, not for the subjects to try and win that of the Government. If it had done so, the results would have been great, and the people would have rejoiced. Alas that it has not done so! Friendship is a feeling which springs from the heart, and which cannot be kindled by "admonitions." Men may meet on very friendly terms, but it does not therefore follow that they are friends in the real sense of the word—that they are friends at heart as well as in outward signs. Government has hitherto kept itself as isolated from the people of India as if it had been the fire and they the dry grass—as if it thought that, were the two brought in contact, the latter would be burnt up. It and its people were like two different sorts of stone, one white and the other black, which stones, too, were being daily more and more widely separated. Now the relations between them ought to have been close like those between the streaks of white and black in the stone called Abri, in which we see the former close alongside of the latter, the one blending with the other. Government was, of course, perfectly right in maintaining special friendly relation with its Christian subjects (the English), but it was at the same time incumbent upon it to show towards its native subjects that brotherly kindness which the Apostle Paul exhorts us to in these words, "And to godliness brotherly kindness; and to brotherly kindness charity" (2 Peter i. 7). It must be borne in mind that the blood of the Mohammedan conquerors and that of the people of the country was not the same; that their faith was not the same; their manners and customs not the same; that in their hearts the people did not like them; and that at first there was little or no amalgamation of the two.

What, then, was the secret of their becoming friends? Let us glance at the former Indian dynasties. First came that of the Mohammedan conquerors. In the reign of the Turks and Pathans, there was no intercourse between the conquerors and the conquered until the Government of the former was made firm and easy. A feeling of cordiality was first established in the reign of the Mogul Emperor, Akbar I., and continued till the reign of Shah Jehan. No doubt, owing to many defects in the system of Government, the people were subjected to many evils; but these were lightened by the feelings just mentioned. This feeling unfortunately ceased during the reign of Alumgeer, A.D. 1779, when, owing to the rebellion of several Hindus of note, such as Sewajee, the Mahratta, &c., Alumgeer vowed vengeance against them all, and sent orders to all his lieutenants to treat them with rigour and harshness, and to exempt none from paying tribute. The injury and disaffection which therefore ensued are well known. Now the English Government has been in existence upwards of a century, and up to the present hour has not secured the affections of the people.

One great source of the stability of a Government is undoubtedly the treating of its subjects with honour, and thus gaining their affections. The results of kindness are: an enemy even, if treated courteously, becomes a friend; friends by friendly intercourse become greater friends, and strangers if treated in a friendly manner are no longer strangers. By kindness we make the brute creatures our willing slaves; how much more then would such treatment cement the bonds between a Government and its people? In the first years of the British rule in India the people were heartily in favour of it. This good feeling the Government has now forfeited, and the natives very generally say that they are treated with contempt. A native gentleman is, in the eyes of any petty official, as much lower than that official as that same official esteems himself lower than a duke. The opinion of many of these officials is that no native can be a gentleman. . . .

There are many English officials who are well known for their kindness and friendly feeling toward the natives, and these are in consequence much beloved by

them—are, to use a native expression, as the sun and the moon to them, and are pointed out as types of the old race of officials. . . .

The English army system in India has always been faulty, and one great fault was the paucity of English troops. When Nadir Shah conquered Khorassan, and became master of the two kingdoms of Persia and Afghanistan, he invariably kept the two armies at equal strength. The one consisted, or rather was composed, of Persians and Kuzul Bashies, and the other was composed of Afghans. When the Persian army attempted to rise, the Afghan army was at hand to quell the rebellion, and *vice versä*. The English did not follow this precedent in India. The sepoy army was no doubt faithful in its day and served the Government well, but how could Government feel certain that it would never act contrary to its orders? What measures had Government taken for quelling at once on the spot any *emeute* in that vast army, such as that which happened last year?

Government certainly did put the two antagonistic races into the same regiment, but constant intercourse had done its work, and the two races in regiment had almost become one. It is but natural and to be expected, that a feeling of friendship and brotherhood must spring up between the men of a regiment, constantly brought together as they are. They consider themselves as one body; and thus it was that the difference which exists between Hindus and Mohammedans had, in these regiments, been almost entirely smoothed away.

If a portion of the regiment engaged in anything, all the rest joined. If separate regiments of Hindus and separate regiments of Mohammedans had been raised, this feeling of brotherhood could not have arisen, and, in my opinion, the Mohammedan regiments would not have refused to receive the new cartridges. Owing to the paucity of the European element, the people of India only stood in awe of the sepoys, who thus became puffed up with pride, and thought there were none like them in the world. They looked upon the European portion of the army as a myth, and thought that the many victories which the English had gained were gained entirely by their own prowess. A common

saying of theirs was, that they had enabled the English to conquer Hindustan from Burmah to Cabul. This pride of the sepoys was most marked after the Punjab was conquered. So far had it gone, that they made objections to anything which they did not like, and I believe even remonstrated when ordered to march consequent on the yearly reliefs. It was precisely at this time, when the army was imbued with this feeling of pride, and the knowledge or rather conjecture that Government would grant anything they stood out for, that the new cartridges were issued—cartridges which they really believed were made up with fat, and he using of which would destroy their caste. They refused to bite them. When the regiment at Barrackpore was disbanded, and the general order announcing the same was read out to each regiment, the deepest grief was felt throughout the army. They thought that the refusal to bite the cartridges, the biting of which would have destroyed their caste, was no crime at all ; that the men of the disbanded regiment were not in the least to blame, and that their disbandment was an act utterly devoid of justice on the part of Government. The whole army deeply regretted ever having had anything to do with Government. They felt that they had shed their blood in its cause, and conquered many countries for it ; that in return it wished to take away their caste, and had dismissed those who had justly stood out for their rights. There was, however, no open rebellion just then, as they had only been disbanded and had not been treated with greater severity ; but, partly from feeling certain that the cartridges were mixed with fat, partly from grief at seeing their comrades disbanded at Barrackpore, and still more by reason of their pride, arrogance, and vanity, the whole army was determined, come what might, not to bite the cartridges.

Correspondence was undoubtedly actively carried on in the army after the events at Barrackpore, and messages were sent telling the men not to bite the cartridges. Up to this time there was a strong feeling of indignation and irritation in the army, but, in my opinion, there was no intention of rebelling.

The fatal month of May 1857 was now at hand, in which the army was punished in a manner which

thinking men know to have been most wrong, and most inopportune. The anger which the news of this punishment created in the minds of the sepoys was intense. The prisoners, on seeing their hands and feet manacled, looked at their medals and wept. They remembered their services, and thought how they had been recompensed ; and their pride, which, as I have before said, was the feeling of the whole army, caused them to feel the degradation all the more keenly. Then the rest of the troops at Meerut were fully persuaded that they would either be compelled to bite the cartridges or undergo the same punishment. This rage and grief led to the fearful events of the 10th of May, which events are unparalleled in the annals of history. After committing themselves thus, the mutineers had no choice left but to continue in their career of rebellion.

CHAPTER V.

"THE LOYAL MOHAMMEDANS OF INDIA"—THEIR SERVICES IGNORED—LIST OF REWARDS—COMMENTARY ON THE BIBLE.

In 1860 Syed Ahmed published a pamphlet on "The Loyal Mohammedans of India," extracts from which I shall now give. It is as well that the English public be reminded of eminent services rendered by our Mussulman fellow-subjects during the memorable years 1857-58; and it is also advisable to bring, after the lapse of so many years, these services and their rewards prominently before the Indian public. During and for long after the Mutiny, the Mohammedans were under a cloud. To them were attributed all the horrors and calamities of that terrible time; and that this prejudice was to a very great extent unjust, and that it was regretted and resented by the Mohammedans at large, is undoubted. No one being apparently willing to take up the cudgels in their defence, Syed Ahmed threw himself into the breach and did all in his power to rehabilitate their reputation.

Verily [he wrote] it is an incontrovertible truth, that in the revolutions of time a general calamity sometimes occurs of a nature so overwhelming that man is completely prostrated and unhinged thereby, and rendered utterly helpless in his extremity. There is

then, as it were, a great weight on his soul, bearing it down into the gulf of despair, for at that season of crushing trial neither virtue nor learning, nor skill nor talent, is of any avail. Undoubtedly, if a man be guilty of a really culpable act, there can be no extenuation for it; but when he is enveloped by the sombre mantle of misfortune, even his good deeds are open to suspicion and misconstruction, and are either condemned, *in toto*, or said to proceed from a latent sinister motive. Certainly, good and bad are to be found in every class and creed; but the proverb that "a fish pollutes all water" has reference especially to a season of distress—for it is a peculiarity of the time, that if even one man has done ill, the entire class to which he belongs is held up to execration; and although a large number of that class may have done right well, nobody thinks of their good deeds, and they get no credit for them. Now the season of dire extremity to which I allude is that which befell the Mohammedans in 1857-58. There was no atrocity committed then of which the blame was not imputed to the Mohammedans, although the parties really guilty may have been Ramdin and Matadin. An oriental poet has well said: "There is no misfortune sent from heaven which, ere it descended to earth, did not seek for its resting-place the dwellings of Mohammedans!" Long and anxiously have I pondered upon the events which marked the terrible crisis that has passed over this country; and I am free to confess that the facts which have come to my knowledge, and which I firmly believe to be true, have been a source of genuine comfort to my soul, inducing, as they do, the proud conviction that the rumours defamatory of the Mohammedans that have got abroad from the four quarters of the world are utterly without foundation. Some of the acts of the horrible drama have already been exposed; but as day by day all the particulars are gradually brought to light, then, when the naked truth stands revealed—*then* will this one glorious fact stand out in prominent relief, that if in Hindustan there was one class of people above another who, from the principles of their religion, from habits and associations, and from kindred disposition, were fast bound with Christians, in their dread hour of trial and danger,

in the bonds of amity and friendship, those people were the Mohammedans; and then will be effectually silenced the tongue of slander, now so loud in their condemnation.

I really do not see that in those days any class besides the Mohammedans displayed so much single-minded and earnest devotion to the interests of Government, or so willingly sacrificed reputation and status, life and prosperity, in its cause. It is to the Mohammedans that the credit belongs of having stood the staunch and unshaken friends of the Government amidst that fearful tornado that devastated the country, and shook the empire to its centre; and who were every ready, heart and hand, to render their aid to the utmost extremity, or cheerfully to perish in the attempt, regardless of home and kindred, of life and its enjoyments. At that momentous crisis it was imperatively their duty—a duty enjoined by the precepts of our religion—to identify themselves heartily with the Christians and to espouse their cause, seeing that they have, like ourselves, been favoured with a revelation from heaven, and believe in the prophets, and hold sacred the word of God in His holy book, which is also an object of faith with us. But I must deprecate that wholesale denunciation against Mohammedans as a race, in which the newspapers are wont to indulge.

Syed Ahmed then goes on to rejoice that the Government are favourably disposed to his countrymen, as shown by the rewards which have been liberally bestowed upon all loyal Mohammedans; and he only regrets that their loyalty and good services are rarely alluded to in the newspapers, whilst the writers on the Mutiny have "ignored them altogether."

Syed Ahmed names those who in Hindustan stood staunchly by us in the Mutiny, amongst others: (1) Zaquaria Khan, an official of whom Mr. Carmichael, the magistrate of Pilibhit, wrote: "He evinced his gratitude by taking charge of my family, and

conducting them, with the greatest care and solicitude, many miles before I joined them; and he remained faithful with me in the hills, and ever insisted upon being with me everywhere. He was an old man, and had seen an immense deal of military service in the Deccan and elsewhere, and had the most unbounded confidence in the resources and power of our Government. He was promoted to a Tehsildarship on the restoration of order at Bareilly, and was cut down in open court by a Mohammedan; and Government have lost in him a faithful and devoted servant."

His three sons were provided for by Government, by grants of land in the Bareilly district.

(2) Abdulla Khan was the Kotwal or chief police officer at Pilibhit. Of him Mr. Carmichael wrote:—

Abdulla Khan, . . . from the first apprehension of any disturbances, exerted himself most successfully, with untiring zeal and energy, to the maintenance of order. . . . When the mutiny broke out in Bareilly, he remained at his post until his own police mutinied, when (for his determination and courage are equal) he would have shot the most mutinous of them had he not been restrained by the Tehsildar, who begged him to avoid bloodshed if possible, as the commission of it would only be the prelude to some greater acts of outrage. He then remained faithfully by me, and accompanied me up to the hills. . . . His family have given signal proofs of their loyalty by giving up their lives in the service of the State. Zakaria Khan was his uncle.

(3) Mohomad Ibrahim Khan, another uncle, was Tehsildar of Shamlee, in the Muzaffarnagar district. . . . His Tehsil was attacked by an overpowering force of the rebels, and himself and every member of his family . . . were killed. Among these were

(4) Abdulla Khan's father, and many other relatives, and, indeed, the only two male members now living of

his own family are himself and a younger brother. I beg to recommend most heartily and sincerely to the kind consideration of a benevolent Government a man who has himself evinced his fidelity to the State in so marked a manner by his adherence to me at a most trying crisis, and whose whole family have given such striking proofs of their loyalty and devotion to the State.

Abdulla Khan was presented by Government with a pair of handsome pistols, a sword, and several villages.

(5) Wali Mohammad Khan was a Pathan from Rampore, and became a Sowar at Pilibhit on the Mutiny breaking out. He was one of the small but gallant band of Mohammedans who escorted Mrs. Carmichael to Naini Tal. Afterwards he was in several actions, and at last fell fighting bravely at the battle of Churpura, on the 10th February, 1858. A pension of Rs.8 *per mensem*, with a gratuity of Rs.336, were given by Government to his family.

(6) Mahbulla Khan was another native of Rampore who escorted Mrs. Carmichael, and was afterwards present in several actions, being once wounded. He was made a Daffadar of Police, and received land worth Rs.200 a-year.

(7) Syfullah Khan was also one of Mrs. Carmichael's escort, was in several actions, and received a Jemadarship of Police Sowars, and land worth Rs.205 per annum.

Others of the same Rampore escort were (8) Allai Yar Khan (wounded), (9) Mohammad Khan, (10) Abdul-karim Khan, (11) Syed Nur Khan, and (12) Ghulam-zamin,—all of whom were substantially rewarded by Government.

Here is a man of whom Mrs. Cracroft Wilson wrote :—

(13) Mohammad Husein Sheristedar (reader) was at our house transacting business with Mr. Wilson, on the morning that the jail was broken and the prisoners set free by the mutinous sepoys of the 29th Native Infantry. Mr. Wilson had of course to leave home to try and restore order. I was consequently left alone. Mohamad Husein remained with me, refusing to leave me, and did all in his power to protect me. Mr. Wilson has given him a certificate, which I hope will be of use to him. I give him this note, as he seems particularly anxious to possess an acknowledgment from myself of his services on that memorable day.

Another splendid example of loyalty was (14) Shaikh Sharfuddin, of Shaikhupur in Badaon, who sheltered Mr. Edwards, C.S., and family, five in all, and Mr. Stewart, &c., for months at the risk of his life. He received a *khilat* of Rs.3000, and a village worth Rs.2500 per annum in perpetuity.

(15) Nawab Nabbi Baksh Khan Bahadur was a resident of Delhi, who was there throughout the siege in 1857, and was the Vakil from the Emperor to the Durbar of the Resident, an office which had been conferred upon him by Akbar II.

Syed Ahmed says: When the ruthless mutineers commenced giving free scope to their wild passions for plunder and slaughter, they seized forty-three Christian persons found in the city, among whom were women and children, and took them into the king's fort, intending to kill them there. . . . Yet this Nawab made one effort to save these Christian captives; for he addressed a letter to the king, in which he besought him not to sanction the massacre for which the soldiers were thirsting, and earnestly recommended his Majesty to obtain a *fatwa* (or legal opinion authoritatively advanced by the expounders of Mohammedan law) as to whether there was any scriptural text which could warrant this hideous atrocity. The Nawab ventured to urge this request upon the king, because he was very sensible that the sanguinary act contemplated was held in abhorrence by all right-thinking men, and

condemned by every divine ordinance; and he knew that all the Moulvis of the city were prepared to give a *fatwa* to this effect.

Though his effort was fruitless, his noble attempt to avert the massacre will ever redound to his honour and praise. On the fall of Delhi, when the king's archives fell into the hands of the British, this letter of the Nawab's was also discovered; whereupon the Commissioners sent for him, and presented him with Rs.500, while all his property was released from confiscation, and permission given to him and his family to reside within the city as before. He received a certificate to this effect from Mr. C. B. Saunders, the officiating Commissioner.

(16) Sheikh Khairuddin Ahmed Khan Bahadur was a most gallant and distinguished officer, who commenced his service in the 42d Regiment N.I., his father having been a commissioned officer in our army who was killed in the Afghan campaign of 1839. In this campaign Sheikh Khairuddin was present at twelve general actions. In 1845 he fought at Moodkee, Firozshah, and Sobraon. In 1850 he was presented with a valuable sword, on which were inscribed the names of the several actions at which he had been present. In 1854 this gallant officer left the army, and was appointed a Tehsildar in the Civil Department, became a Deputy-Collector in 1856, and was at Ballia in the Ghazipore district when the Mutiny broke out. It would take too much space to enter in detail his splendid services during 1857-58, for which he was raised to the highest rank of Deputy-Collector, received a dress of honour of six pieces, a pearl necklace, a robe and head-dress ornamented with gems, a jewelled sword worth Rs.2000, the title of Khan Bahadur, and a gift of land worth Rs.5000 per annum.

(17) Mohammad Rahmat Khan and (18) Mir Turab Ali were the Deputy-Collector and Tehsildar of Bijnore, and were with Syed Ahmed Khan throughout the Mutiny. Their excellent services were duly rewarded by robes of honour, a richly wrought sword, and grants of land of various amouuts. Turab Ali's brother (19), Syed Zamin Ali, was Tehsildar of Bahraich in Oudh when the Mutiny occurred, and remained at Gorakhpore with Mr. (now Sir Charles) Wingfield, doing good service. His uncle (20), Sabit Ali, was a Tehsildar in Bundel Khand, where he was killed by the rebels. His cousin (21), Irshad Ali, was Tehsildar of Fatehpur Sikri, in the Agra district, and was taken prisoner by the mutineers. He escaped, and did good service for Government. All of them were amply rewarded.

I could give many more names of Mohammedan Government servants who were prominent for their loyalty, but the foregoing are, I think, sufficient.

Before and after the Mutiny, Syed Ahmed had thought deeply on the state of his co-religionists in India, more especially with reference to the educational question. His idea was that the education imparted to the mass of Mohammedans was utterly inadequate to the spirit of the age—consisting, as it did, of only logic, philosophy, Arabic literature, and religion. Geography, the modern arts and sciences, and recent histories of nations, were sealed books to them. Like Sir Charles Metcalfe, he looked to education "that it may remove prejudices, soften asperities, and substitute a rational conviction of the benefits of our Government; that it may unite the people and their rulers in sympathy; and that the differences which separate them may be gradually lessened and ulti-

mately annihilated." The Tory motto on taking office in 1874 was "Sanitas sanitorum omnia sanitas;" that of a famous physician was "Diagnosis, diagnosis, diagnosis;" Syed Ahmed's was "Educate, educate, educate." "All the socio-political diseases of India may," he once said to me, "be cured by this treatment. Cure the root, and the tree will flourish." In 1858, therefore, he had made his first attempt at education, by opening at Moradabad a school specially for the study of modern history. There being, in his estimation, no books in the native languages suitable for this branch of study, the idea of a Translation Society dawned on his mind. In 1862 he was transferred as subordinate judge to Ghazipore, and almost immediately commenced the first commentary on the Bible ever written by a Mohammedan. The difficulties incurred by him in writing this abstruse work may be imagined when it is borne in mind that he was ignorant of English; that all the accessible theological works treating of his subject were written in that language; and that he had to have these various books translated into Urdu, and read to or by him, Undeterred by these difficulties, however, he worked at the Commentary for years, until other, and to him more important, tasks claimed all his energies. Three volumes have been published: the first treating of the Bible as a whole; the second commenting on Genesis up to the eleventh chapter; and the third dealing with the Gospel of St. Matthew.

CHAPTER VI.

THE ALLYGURH SCIENTIFIC SOCIETY—INAUGURAL SPEECHES —TRANSLATIONS—GHAZIPORE COLLEGE.

It was at this time that I first met Syed Ahmed, being then an Assistant District Superintendent of Police at Ghazipore. At the very first interview I felt greatly attracted to him—a feeling which but deepened with time. The Translation Society, now known as the Scientific Society of Allygurh, was started by Syed Ahmed at Ghazipore on the 9th January 1864. There was a large assemblage of European and native gentlemen at Syed Ahmed's house, where the first meeting was held. In the course of a speech which I made on the occasion I said :—

For the first time in the annals of Hindustan has a Mohammedan gentleman, alone and unaided, thought over and commenced a Society in order to bring the knowledge and literature of the nations of the Western world within reach of the immense masses of the people of the Eastern. At present all the works on the arts and sciences are sealed to the people of Asia as a body ; and when we recollect that it will be through the modern arts and sciences that this country is to advance with the age, I am sure that those interested in India's wellbeing will give their hearty aid to this Society. All the many works on the capabilities of this country are unknown to most of the people here.

How many are there in India who know anything of the valuable contents of mother earth? How many are there who are acquainted with any of the modern improvements on the materials with which the soil is tilled, water is raised, cotton prepared—or in short, on almost everything which is at present done, only very superficially or clumsily, by the mass of he people of India? The many works on all the above will gradually be translated by this Society, and they will thus become generally known. But it will not do to sit still and listen. Let those who are interested in this good work contribute but a very small portion of their yearly gains towards disseminating knowledge for the benefit of their descendants by means of this Society, and they will have one of the purest pleasures a man can have—viz., the thought that "I have done something, not only for myself, but for others."

The object of the promoter of this Society, Syed Ahmed Khan, is not to obstruct the study of English, but by bringing the English literature within reach of his fellow-countrymen, to increase the civilisation, and therefore the wealth and wellbeing, of his country. English is gradually being more and more studied in India; but he knows well that it will take long before the mass of the higher classes even will be sufficiently grounded in that language to benefit by the knowledge which it opens up. In order to show clearly his opinion on the necessity of studying English, I may here quote a part of the speech delivered by him last October before the Mohammedan Literary Society at Calcutta:—

"The reason, gentlemen," he said, "why we are all so backward nowadays, is that whilst we are learned in and benefited by the philosophy, sciences, and arts of antiquity, we are almost entirely ignorant of those of modern times. Many grand works have been written in the German, French, and other languages These are all to be found translated into English. England has produced as many, if not more, grand works than other nations. Now, as we are not likely to become proficient in German, French, &c., as we have all their learned works in the English tongue, and as Hindustan is now governed by the English, I think it is very clear that English is the language to

which we ought to devote our attention. Is it any prejudice that prevents us from learning it? No; it cannot be so with us. Such is only said by those who do not know us. No religious prejudices interfere with our learning any language spoken by any of the many nations of the world. From remote antiquity have we studied Persian, and no prejudice has ever interfered with the study of that language. How, then, can any religious objection be raised against our learning and perfecting ourselves in English?"

A writer has said, "Observe the society into which literature introduces us: we are brought by it into contact with minds of the loftiest order." And what does more to form and fashion us than our companionship? Insensibly we become assimilated to those with whom we associate. The higher intellect affects the weaker. Thus the study of an elevated literature will silently and little by little take effect on the man's nature, and the various elements of character will grow in correspondence with the influences that act on them. This literature, then, is what this Society appeals to the support of the people of India. This is the benefit,—benefit which will make the Hindustan of to-day scarcely recognisable fifty years hence,—which literature—good, sound literature of any nation—will confer on those who choose to cultivate it. In commencing the business of this Society to-day, we have commenced a movement which, if the people of India will only give their hearty aid, is destined, in conjunction with many other measures working for its good, to make India a wealthy (far more wealthy than even she is at present), and what is of far more importance, an enlightened country. Indeed I ought to put the latter adjective first, as increase of enlightenment is equivalent to increase of wealth. Look how England's wealth has increased with her education within the last century. She had great difficulties to contend with—difficulties greater far than even the many difficulties which we know only too well obstruct the spread of knowledge in this country. In those days she had no railways, no steam printing-presses, &c.,—little but her own innate genius and unconquerable energy. There is genius sufficient in India which, if its people will only put to it the shoulders of combination and persever-

ance, will soon place this country amongst the first as regards civilisation, as she is at present amongst the last. All the many aids to enlightenment which it took England many, many years to invent, experimentalise upon, and finally to bring into general use, are all at hand now. A desire to benefit by all these can only be thoroughly kindled in the minds of the natives of this country by bringing them and many other things prominently to view, which is the object of this our Society. Natives of India, you have only to stretch out your hands, as it were, to grasp all the many and varied appliances for the promotion of your country's welfare; and to those who do grasp, a true pleasure, and I may also add, profit, not only in mind but in pocket, will be imparted by the touch. All those, therefore, English and natives, who only join heartily in this undertaking, shall have, I trust, the proud satisfaction of having not only set on foot, but also kept up, till it shall have accomplished its object, a Society, the benefit of which to the people of India will be incalculable. I would only add, in conclusion, how much I feel is due to the enlightened and persevering man, the instigator of this Society, who is doing his best, both in head and pocket, to bring his country out of centuries of sleep, and who in afterages will, I am sure, be awarded a conspicuous place on the list of benefactors to his country, Syed Ahmed Khan.

Syed Ahmed, in his speech, said :—

Looking at the state of my fellow-countrymen's minds, I find that, from their ignorance of the past history of the world at large, they have nothing to guide them in their future career. From their ignorance of the events of the past, and also of the events of the present,—from their not being acquainted with the manner and means by which infant nations have grown into powerful and flourishing ones, and by which the present most advanced ones have beaten their competitors in the race for position among the magnates of the world,—they are unable to take lessons, and profit by their experiences. Through this ignorance, also, they are not aware of the causes which have undermined the foundations of those

nations once the most wealthy, the most civilised, and the most powerful in the history of their time, and which have since gradually gone to decay or remained stationary instead of advancing with the age. If, in 1856, the natives of India had known anything of the mighty power which England possesses,—a power which would have impressed the misguided men of the Bengal army with the knowledge how futile their efforts to subvert the empire of Her Majesty in the East would be,—there is little doubt but that the unhappy events of 1857 would never have occurred. For the above reasons, I am strongly in favour of disseminating a knowledge of history, ancient and modern, for the improvement of my fellow-countrymen. Various small editions of works on history have been translated by the Department of Public Instruction for the use of schools; but these do not contain that copiousness of detail, that full description of the morals, virtues, and vices of nations, which, in my opinion, are necessary in order to confer any real benefit on the native mind. The book which, I think, would be very suitable for our Society to commence with, is one written by M. Rollin on the ancient races, in which are admirably described their discovery of, and improvements on, the arts and sciences; as also their laws and systems of government, together with their virtues and vices. This book is equally adapted to old and young. We may with truth designate the Greeks as the schoolmasters of the world in their own and also in succeeding ages. But we in India know nothing of their former state of barbarism, of the means by which they raised themselves to the position which we know they attained, and we are also utterly ignorant of what conduced to bringing about the prosperity of Europe, which now so far excels the Greece of ancient days.

Again, gentlemen, with regard to works on natural philosophy. All those who have anything to do with the internal management of districts are well aware how the producing capabilities of the soil are gradually decreasing. One great reason for this evil, which, if not remedied, will some day seriously affect the finances of India, is that the natives have never even heard of the principles on which the cultivation of the soil ought

to be conducted, or of the many new inventions for improving their acres.

Another work which is most necessary for India to read is one on political economy. Political economy was formerly known to us, but none of the works on it of our ancinet authors are now extant. Colonel Hamilton, after a great deal of research, got together a library, and an excellent one it is, of most of the works of our ancient authors. From a want of knowledge of political economy, the natives of India are utterly in the dark as to the principles on which the government of their country is carried on. They do not know that the revenue is collected for their own benefit, and not for that of Government. Millions are under the idea that the rupees, as fast as they are collected, are hurried on board ship, and carried off to England! Why is this? Only through their ignorance of political economy. Their own immediate prosperity is also seriously impaired by this ignorance. They do not know how to manage their affairs, how to so apply their present wealth that it may increase tenfold, and at the same time relieve otner countries by letting loose their capital, and not burying it in their houses. I would therefore recommend the translating little by little, so as not to interfere with smaller works, of Mill's "Political Economy."

I had, in the previous year, translated and published at Syed Ahmed's private press two articles in the "Edinburgh Review" on the administration of Lords Dalhousie and Canning, and on inquiry in London as to the author of these essays, I was informed that the writer was the Duke of Argyll, and that he was much gratified at these having been translated. It struck me that it would be beneficial to our infant Society if we could get the assistance of the Duke's name as patron, and on writing to his Grace I received a letter from him giving his cordial assent. His Grace is therefore the first English duke who ever lent the encouragement of his name to a society founded by an Indian gentleman. India is grateful to him. By a

curious and happy coincidence it was from the Duke's hands at the India Office that, six years later, Syed Ahmed received the insignia of the Companion of the Star of India, and lunched with him afterwards. This Society's headquarters were afterwards transferred to Allygurh, where, through Syed Ahmed's exertions and the liberality of the residents, its handsome institute, hall, and library were erected, and are now ornaments to the station. A very large number of translations have been published by the Society since its foundation.

Syed Ahmed's counsel and example bore good fruit at Ghazipore, as within two months of the date of opening the Scientific Society he delivered a vigorous speech at the laying of the foundation of the New Ghazipore, now the Victoria, College, an institution built by the principal native gentlemen of the district. Mr. Sapte, the Judge of Ghazipore, in his speech said, "You will presently have the advantage of listening to an address from Syed Ahmed Khan, whose deep learning and liberal views are well known to you all, whose stay in this district has been of the greatest benefit to it." In the course of his address Syed Ahmed Khan said :—

This assembly is composed of English and native gentlemen of this district, the former of whom have attended here, not as your rulers but as well-wishers. Let us trust that He who rules on high may permit us to enjoy many such in our future lives, many such in which the natives of this country will be associated with those of the ruling race, for the purpose of compassing the improvement of the people of India. The English have the reputation of being the well-wishers of all mankind, without reference to race or creed. Although their method of carrying out their good intentions be sometimes open to criticism, still they generally come right in the end, and attain their

objects. The natives of India, living far distant from England, and many of them, also, far distant from Englishmen, believe only when they have the bodily presence of the English that this reputation is a true one. This proof is to-day before their eyes; this brotherly interest in that which is intended to do good is, through your presence here this day, English gentlemen of Ghazipore, patent to all those now assembled. If meetings such as this is were more frequent throughout India, the feeling of trust or attachment on the part of the governed towards the governors would be strengthened and enhanced, and be of the greatest benefit to both. Your resolution of founding a college in this district is a noble and praiseworthy one, and will serve to incite the people of other districts to imitate your example. Bear in mind, gentlemen, that her most gracious Majesty Queen Victoria has had proclaimed in this country that her servants and subjects, European and native, are to be considered as being on an equal footing; and this assurance is not a mere matter of form, but a reality. Those amongst you here present who have visited Calcutta within the last few years, will have noticed that there is a countryman of your own judge of the High Court, possessing the same powers, enjoying the same dignities, and receiving the same pay as his brethren, the English judges of that Court. You are also aware that several of your fellow-countrymen are members of the Legislative Council of India, associated with the Viceroy and other high dignitaries in the formation of laws for your wellbeing, and that they give their opinions on the same without fear or partiality.

Gentlemen, the decision of the British Government that natives of India should be eligible for a seat in the Viceroy's Council both rejoiced and grieved me. It grieved me because I was afraid that the education of the natives was not sufficiently advanced to enable them to discharge the duties of their important office with credit to themselves and benefit to their country. Thanks be to the Almighty, this fear has proved groundless, and those of our fellow-countrymen who have been honoured with a seat in the highest council in India have discharged their duties manfully and

right well. But it is still requisite that we should increase our knowledge of things in general. The appointment of natives to the Supreme Council was a memorable incident in the history of India. The day is not far distant, I trust, and when it does come you will remember my words, when that Council will be composed of representatives from every division or district, and that thus the laws which it will pass will be laws enacted by the feelings of the entire country. There is one great fact—that her most gracious Majesty wishes all her subjects to be treated alike; and, let their religion, tribe, or colour be what it may, that the only way to avail ourselves of the many roads to fame and usefulness is to cultivate our intellects, and to conform ourselves to the age.

CHAPTER VII.

EDUCATIONAL MEETING AT BADAON—SPEECH ON NECESSITY OF INDIAN AFFAIRS BEING MORE PROMINENTLY BROUGHT BEFORE PARLIAMENT—PRESENTED WITH GOLD MEDAL BY LORD LAWRENCE—DETERMINES ON TAKING HIS SON TO CAMBRIDGE.

In April 1864, Syed Ahmed Khan was transferred to Allygurh. In September 1864 I was officiating District Superintendent of Police at Badaon, and he paid me a visit there in that month, staying in my house. We had a crowded meeting in the educational cause—presided over by the Honourable R. Drummond—and Syed Ahmed delivered a very effective speech on the occasion. Out of many meetings which he attended, and many speeches that he made, I shall give one of the latter addressed by him on 10th May 1866 to a large and influential meeting of the European and native residents of Allygurh, in the Scientific Society's Institute, on the necessity of Indian affairs being more prominently brought before Parliament than has hitherto been the case, and of forming an association for this purpose. He said:—

Gentlemen, if we look back upon that period of India's history which was passed by her under a despotic Government, we find kings or rajas possessed of unlimited power and authority over their subject-

millions, and we know that their Governments, instead of being guided by the laws of reason and justice, were carried on according to their arbitrary will, their caprices, or their passions. The title "Disposer of the people's lives," and other similar titles which were adopted by kings and emperors of India, was meant to express their power over their people for good or evil, and the title in most cases was synonymous with vice, tyranny, and self-seeking. The rule of these former emperors and rajas was neither in accordance with the Hindu nor the Mohammedan religion. It was based upon nothing but tyranny and oppression: the law of might was that of right; the voice of the people was not listened to; the strong and the turbulent oppressed the feeble and the poor, and usurped all their privileges with impunity for their own selfish ends.

After this long period of what was but mitigated slavery, it was ordained by a higher power than any on earth, that the destinies of India should be placed in the hands of an enlightened nation, whose principles of government were in accordance with those of intellect, justice and reason. Yes, my friends, the great God above, He who is equally the God of the Jew, the Hindu, the Christian, and the Mohammedan, placed the British over the people of India—gave them rational laws (and no religious laws revealed to us by God can be at variance with rational laws), gave you, up to the year 1858, the Government of the East India Company. The rule of that now defunct body of merchant princes was one eminent for justice and moderation, both in temporal and religious matters. The only point in which it failed to satisfy the wants of the age latterly, was the fact of its not being a regal Government,—a necessity which had gradually forced itself more prominently into notice as time rolled on, when the once solitary factory on the banks of the Ganges had grown into an empire half as large as Europe, with a population of nearly two hundred millions. Owing to this—owing to the fact that the affairs of India were almost entirely conducted by the Court of Directors—one great obstacle to the satisfying the requirements of all classes of the community was this, that Parliament in those days—and, alas

that I should have to say it! in these days also—was not sufficiently alive to the importance of Indian affairs to take any interest in them, unless they by chance happened to touch upon the politics of the day, the fate of a ministry, or were brought prominently to notice by the brilliancy of some popular orator.

It has been a matter of sincere regret to all thinking natives, that since the assumption of the reins of Government of India by her most gracious Majesty Queen Victoria in person, the attention of her Parliament has not been more bestowed upon measures affecting the future welfare of the inhabitants of this portion of her dominions. It is with great regret that we view the indifference and want of knowledge evinced by the people of India with regard to the British Parliament. Can you expect its members to take a deep interest in your affairs, if you do not lay your affairs before them? The British Parliament represents the flower of the wealth and intellect of England; and there are many men now composing it, liberal in their views, just and virtuous in their dealings, who take a deep interest in all that affects the welfare of the human race. To excite this interest, however, it is necessary that the requirements and wishes of that portion of mankind on whose behalf they are to exert themselves, be made clearly known to them. Their interest and philanthropy once excited, you may feel assured, gentlemen, that the wants, be they the wants of the Jew, the Hindu, the Christian, or the Mohammedan, of the black man or of the white, will be attentively studied and duly cared for. India, with that slowness to avail herself of that which would benefit her so characteristic of Eastern nations, has hitherto looked on Parliament with a dreamy apathetic eye, content to have her affairs, in the shape of her Budget, brought before it in an annual and generally inaudible speech by her Majesty's Secretary of State for India. Is this state of things to continue, or has the time now come when the interests of this great dependency are to be properly represented in the governing body of the British nation?

Are the Europeans thought factious and discontented? Believe me that this moral cowardice is

wrong—this apprehension unfounded; and that there is not an Englishman of a liberal turn of mind in India who would regard with feelings other than those of pleasure and hope, such a healthy sign of increased civilisation on the part of its inhabitants. If you will only show yourselves possessed of zeal and self-reliance, you are far more likely to gain the esteem of an independent race like the English, than if you remain as you now are, apathetic and dependent. The actions and laws of every Government, even the wisest that ever existed, although done or enacted from the most upright and patriotic motives, have at times proved inconsistent with the requirements of the people, or opposed to real justice. The natives have at present little or no voice in the management of the affairs of their country; and should any measure of Government prove obnoxious to them, they brood over it, appearing outwardly satisfied and happy, whilst discontent is rankling in their minds. I hope you, my native hearers, will not be angry with me for speaking the truth. You know that you are in the habit of inveighing against various acts of Government in your own homes and amongst your own families, and that you, in the course of your visits to European gentlemen, represent yourselves as quite satisfied with the justice and wisdom of these very acts. Such a state of affairs is inimical to the wellbeing of the country. Far better would it be for India were her people to speak out openly and honestly their opinions as to the justice, or otherwise, of the acts of Government.

Mr. John Stuart Mill, in his able work on Political Economy, says: "The rights and interests of every or of any person are only secure from being disregarded when the person interested is himself able and habitually disposed to stand up for them. The second is that the general prosperity attains a greater height, and is more widely diffused, in proportion to the personal energies enlisted in promoting it." These principles, my friends, are as applicable to the people of India as they are to those of any other nation; and it is in your power, it now rests with you alone, to put them into practice. If you will not help yourselves, you may be quite certain no one else will. Why should you be afraid? Here am I, a servant of

Government, speaking out plainly to you in this public meeting. My attachment to Government was proved, as many of you know, in the eventful year of the Mutiny. It is my firm conviction, one which I have invariably expressed both in public and in private, that the greater the confidence of the people of India in the Government, the more solid the foundation upon which the present Government rests, and the more mutual friendship is cultivated between your rulers and yourselves, the greater will be the future benefit to your country. Be loyal in your hearts, place every reliance upon your rulers, speak out openly, honestly, and respectfully all your grievances, hopes, and fears, and you may be quite sure that such a course of conduct will place you in the enjoyment of all your legitimate rights; and that this is compatible, nay, synonymous with true loyalty to the State, will be upheld by all whose opinion is worth having.

A number of subscribers at once joined the association, and Syed Ahmed Khan was elected secretary.

In November 1866, Syed Ahmed was presented by Lord Lawrence, then Viceroy, with a gold medal and a copy of Macaulay's works for his good services and efforts in the cause of education. The following is the inscription on the medal: "Presented by the Viceroy of India, in public Durbar, to Syed Ahmed, a loyal and valuable servant of the Queen, in recognition of his continuous and successful efforts to spread the light of literature and science among his countrymen. Agra, 20th November 1866." The inscription attached to Macaulay's works, in his Excellency's own handwriting, is—"To Moulvi Syed Ahmed Buhadoor, Principal Sudder Ameen of Allygurh, in recognition of his conspicuous services in the diffusion of knowledge and general enlightenment among his countrymen. Agra, 20th November 1866."

In 1867 he was transferred to Benares. Still, not satisfied with what he had already done, he determined

to send his son, Syed Mahmud, to Cambridge, and to accompany him himself to see what measures were necessary towards the establishment of a similar college in the North-West Provinces—more particularly for the requirements of Mohammedans. Such a determination shows what sort of a man he was. There are not many native gentlemen who, at the age of fifty-two, would undertake the long sea-trip to England, and face the great change of climate and habits which it involves.

[NOTE.—It was I who suggested this visit to England.—AUTHOR.]

CHAPTER VIII.

SYED AHMED IN ENGLAND—RECEIVED BY LORD LAWRENCE, LORD STANLEY OF ALDERLEY, ETC.—MADE C.S.I.—SPEECH AT SMEATONIAN SOCIETY—PETITION TO THE DUKE OF ARGYLL—"ESSAYS ON THE LIFE OF MOHAMMED."

ON the 10th April 1869, Syed Ahmed and his two sons, —Syed Mahmud, who had obtained the first scholarship of the North-West Provinces, given to Indian youths to enable them to study in England, now Judge of the High Court in the North-West Provinces, of whom Mr. Whitley Stokes years afterwards said in the Viceroy's Council that he was "the distinguished son of a most distinguished father,"—and Syed Hamed, now a District Superintendent of Police in the same Provinces,—left Bombay, and on their arrival in England took up their quarters in a house in Mecklenburg Square, W.C.

I was at home on furlough at the time, but was unable to meet them till the end of May 1869, when I ran up to town and had the pleasure of welcoming them to England. I took them to the Derby, which interested and amused them greatly. What appeared to astonish Syed Ahmed most of all was the moment when the horses came round the bend before Tattenham

Corner. Up to this time the sea of hatless heads, which had all been turned from us (we were at the back of the Grand Stand), suddenly veered round as one man as the horses changed their direction, and the sudden flashing round of the multitude of white faces was a sight which Syed Ahmed was particularly struck with. The vast crowd was of much more interest to him than the racing. His stay in England was made pleasant to him by many people, particularly by Lord Lawrence, who was most kind to him, asking him to dinner, and calling on him once every month during his stay in the country. Lord Lawrence knew Syed Ahmed's family well. Another friend whom he often saw was Lord Stanley of Alderley, who, by his long residence at the English Embassy at Constantinople, had acquired a profound knowledge of the Mohammedan character and religion, both in its social and political aspects. He had an interview with Carlyle, and the Chelsea Sage was unusually gracious to him. They talked long and earnestly over "Heroes and Hero-Worship," especially about Mohammed, of whom Carlyle expresses a very high opinion in that work; and also about Syed Ahmed's "Essays on the Life of Mohammed," then in the press. Sir John William Kaye was another whom he saw a good deal of and had correspondence with this year. Syed Ahmed was present at the last reading given by Charles Dickens. He was very kindly received by the Duke of Argyll, then Secretary of State for India, who introduced him to the Marquis of Lorne, and presented him with the insignia of the Companion of the Star of India.

Lord Lawrence, on the 4th June 1869, wrote to him as follows about this: "I am very glad to hear that

you are to have the Third Class of the Star of India. It is an honour you well deserve. Indeed I may say that I recommended you for it before I left India." John Lawrence's praise is worth having. The other recipients of the Companionship of the Star of India on the same day as Syed Ahmed were Messrs. Harrison, Barlow, Boyle, and Captain Meadows Taylor. Here is Syed Ahmed's account of the ceremony :—

On Friday, the 6th of August 1869, I drove to the India Office to receive the insignia of the Companionship of the Star of India. The rest of the recipients were also present. We were received by Mr. (afterwards Sir John W.) Kaye, secretary to his Grace the Duke of Argyll, Secretary of State for India, who shook hands with us all, and spoke a few courteous and congratulatory words to each of us. After a short interval, Mr. Benthall, private secretary to his Grace, entered the room where we were assembled, and shaking hands with me, asked me to accompany him into an adjoining room, where the Duke was waiting to receive me. The Duke was seated without any appearance or surroundings of ceremony, and rising, received me very graciously, shook me by the hand, and introduced me to his son, the Marquis of Lorne, who was present on the occasion. He conversed with me very kindly for some minutes, and inquired after my sons, especially about their education and the progress of their studies. He spoke in English, of course, and I answered him as well as I could in that language, and only regret that I could not speak as correctly and fluently as I could have wished. His Grace then presented me with the Star, together with the royal warrant bearing the signature of the Queen, appointing me a "Companion of the Most Exalted Order of the Star of India," and after congratulating me on the great distinction that had been conferred upon me permitted me to retire. The other recipients having been similarly summoned and invested with the Star, we were all asked to lunch by the Duke, and sat down to a really splendid luncheon, the Duke taking the head of the table, and I, at his invitation, taking the seat on

his left. Many influential men, members of Parliament, and others, were present; amongst others, Sir Bartle Frere, whom I had already met before, and with whom I had a long conversation. After lunch the Duke retired, shaking hands with all present; but the rest of us continued at table over the dessert, and chatting for some time after.

Syed Ahmed was also present at the dinner given at Greenwich by the Smeatonian Society of Civil Engineers, on the 13th July 1869, and made a speech on the effects of engineering works on the Indian public, which was translated and read out in English by Lord Lawrence. The following is an extract from the "Daily News" of the 21st July on the above:—

Smeatonian Society of Civil Engineers.—This Society made an excursion down the Thames, and afterwards had an entertainment at Greenwich, on Thursday, the 13th instant. The party started from Westminster in Mr. Penn's steam-yacht, and visited, under special arrangements, his Engine Manufactory at Deptford, also Messrs. Siemen's Telegraph Cable Works at Charlton, and the Gun and Ammunition Manufactories at the Royal Arsenal, Woolwich. The inspections and the explanations given were of the greatest interest, and afforded much information and pleasure to the company. At the dinner there were nearly fifty gentlemen, the chair being taken by Mr Penn, the president for the year, and among those present were Lord Lawrence, Syed Ahmed and his two sons, Lord Alfred Churchill, Thaiszelek of Pesth, Baron Joachunis, Honourable J. R. Howard, Mr. Reed, (Admiralty), Sir J. A. L. Simmons; Colonels Boxer, Campbell, and Murray; Captains Galton and Ruth; Aldermen J. S. Gibbons and Sir Sydney Waterlow, &c., &c., &c. The Society dates from 1771, when Smeaton instituted a gathering of professional engineers and men of science for friendly intercourse and discussion.

On the 28th July 1869, Syed Ahmed addressed the following letter to the Duke of Argyll:—

My Lord Duke,—In laying before your Grace the few following facts and the petition founded thereon, I do so with full confidence that your Grace will give them generous and liberal consideration.

I am, as no doubt your Grace is aware, one of her Majesty's subordinate Judges of India of the Uncovenanted Service, and have, as the accompanying papers will prove, spent the best years of my life in the service of the British Government, not without approval, and may I be pardoned for hoping, not without benefit to the Government and to my native land.

I have long felt that it was a great disadvantage to my country and people, and especially to Indian officials like myself, to have no personal knowledge of the land, or the rulers, or even the institutions of the kingdom to whom Providence has given the sway over India ; that one of the chief requisites to bind us close to England is, that there should be free and untrammelled intercourse between us ; that we should be encouraged to come freely to this centre of power and civilisation, and to note for ourselves how true is the interest felt for India's good by our common sovereign, and by the councillors of that sovereign. On the occasion of the Durbar held in Oudh in 1867 by Lord Lawrence, our late Governor-General, I availed myself of the opportunity to express these views to him, and was gratified by his seeming to concur fully in them.

Government Resolution of the 30th June 1868, founding nine scholarships to be given to Indian youths desirous of completing their education in England, was soon afterwards issued. This harmonised with my previous views ; but knowing how many prejudices exist in the minds of the great mass of my countrymen against such a measure, involving as it does a sacrifice of the daily habits of a lifetime, I determined to be the first to avail myself of the opening given, and so applied for and obtained one of the scholarships for my son, who was then a student of the Calcutta University, and had passed the examination entitling him to a nomination. He is now with me in London, and has commenced his course of study at Lincoln's Inn. I also did the utmost in my power to induce others of my countrymen to follow my example, and avail them-

selves of the wise policy of Government, by establishing an association for the encouragement of travel to England.

Previous, however, to the grant of the scholarships, wishing to set an example in my own person of seeking knowledge of England, and its institutions and policy, I had applied for furlough for eighteen months for this purpose, petitioning at the same time, that under the special circumstances of the case, I might have the special indulgence of drawing full pay during the time of my absence, and of counting the same towards pension. An unfavourable reply was given, it being stated that under the furlough rules for uncovenanted officers I was not entitled to the favour solicited. This much I knew before. It was the special indulgence I had applied for that I hoped would have been conceded to me, and, in a further application for the same, I asked that my request might be placed before the Secretary of State for India. Being now, however, in England, I take the liberty of a direct appeal to your Grace, praying your generous consideration of my case. . . .

In order to come to England I have been obliged to sell and mortgage my property, and the sum thus raised will, I fear, not cover the inevitable expenses of the coming and going and residing in England, and that, if not aided, I may have to return to India an indebted and impoverished man. . . .

The following was the very satisfactory reply received by him :—

INDIA OFFICE, S.W., *7th August, 1869.*

SIR,—I am directed to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 28th ultimo, requesting that you may be permitted to draw full pay during your present leave, and to reckon it as service towards pension, and to acquaint you in reply that the rules do not admit of a compliance with your request, but that, under the circumstances stated in your letter, the Secretary of State for India in Council has been pleased to sanction the grant to you as a special case, in consideration of your services during the Mutiny, and of your general

high character, of the sum of £250 per annum for two years, in addition to the furlough pay to which you are entitled under the rules.—I am Sir, your obedient Servant,

M. G. GRANT DUFF.

SYED AHMED KHAN BAHADOR, C.S.I.

Syed Ahmed Khan acknowledged this letter in very suitable and appropriate terms, concluding by saying, "I would further beg to request you to assure the Right Honourable Secretary of State in Council that, were it possible for anything to increase my fidelity and attachment to the British Government and to my most gracious Sovereign, it would be the honour and kindness thus conferred upon me."

Our native fellow-subjects in India will see from a perusal of the foregoing how the British Government values the good service and high character of its subordinates.

On the 6th November he greatly enjoyed the sight of the opening of the Holborn Viaduct by the Queen—a special invitation being sent him by the committee of management.

During his stay in London, Syed Ahmed was made an honorary member of the Athenæum Club. Whilst in England, he published a pamphlet, called "Strictures upon the Present Government System in India," which shall be mentioned hereafter, when treating of his evidence given before the Education Commission when member of the Legislative Council.

In 1870 he published "A Series of Essays on the Life of Mohammed, and Subjects Subsidiary thereto," in English, the publishers being Messrs. Trubner and Co. These Essays are twelve in number, and were translated by a friend. They show an extraordinary

depth of learning, great toleration of other religions, great veneration for the essential principles of true Christianity, and should be attentively studied by all interested in religion. Mohammedanism is to the mass of the English nation an utterly unknown and bitterly calumniated faith—a sort of religious bogey, just as Bonaparte was a material bogey to our ancestors at the commencement of the century. Popularly supposed to be a religion of the sword, it is associated with all that is fanatic, sectarian, and narrow-minded. Syed Ahmed, of course, broke many a lance with Sir William Muir, his intimate friend, over the latter's Life of Mohammed; and impartial critics will, I think, agree in giving their verdict on many points against that learned author. *Apropos* of Mohammedanism being accused of being a religion of the sword, Syed Ahmed wrote :—

The remark that " the sword is the inevitable penalty for the denial of Islam," is one of the gravest charges falsely imputed to this faith by the professors of other religions, and arises from the utter ignorance of those who make the accusation. Islam inculcates and demands a hearty and sincere belief in all that it teaches ; and that genuine faith which proceeds from a person's heart cannot be obtained by force or violence. Judicious readers will not fail to observe that the above-quoted remark is entirely contrary to the fundamental principles of the Moslem faith, wherein it is inculcated in the clearest language possible : " Let there be no forcing in religion ; the right way has been made clearly distinguishable from the wrong one " (chap. x. 98) And also : " If the Lord had pleased, all who are on the earth would have believed together ; and wilt thou force men to be believers? No man can believe but by the permission of God, and He will pour out His indignation on those who will not understand " (chap. ii. 257).

The principle upon which Moses was allowed to use the sword to extirpate all idolaters and infidels, without exception of one single individual, is by no means

applicable to Islam. Mohammedanism grasped the sword, not to destroy all infidels and pagans, not to force men to become Moslems at the sword's point, but only to proclaim that eternal truth, the unity of the Godhead, throughout the whole extent of the then known globe.

According to Islam, the best and the most meritorious act is the preaching and making generally known the existence of one invisible God. It could hardly be expected that, in the infidel countries, there could be sufficient personal security for such Moslems who might choose to inculcate by precept, exhort by preaching and practise openly the worship of the unity of God ; and therefore appeal was at once made to the sword in order to establish the superiority of the Moslem power, and to ensure security and tranquillity for such Mohammedans as might choose to preach the wholesome doctrine of their faith, and to live in peace in those countries, so that their habits, conduct, and manner of living might serve as an example for the unbelievers The effect so desirable—viz., that the Moslems might live in peace, and preach the worship of the one only true God—was only attainable by one of three ways. First, the voluntary conversion of the people ; secondly, the establishment of peace and security by means of alliances, offensive and defensive ; and thirdly, by conquest. As soon as the desired object was secured, the sword was immediately sheathed. If tranquillity was established by either of the last two methods, the parties had no authority to interfere with the religious observances of the subject or of each other ; and every person was at liberty to observe, unmolested by any one, all the ceremonies and rites, whatever they might be, of his creed.

The preceding observations likewise show clearly the gross mistake into which some writers have fallen, when they assert that in Islam "toleration is unknown." But in saying this, we do not mean to deny that some of the later Mohammedan conquerors were guilty of cruelty and intolerance, but that the doctrines of our religion ought not to be judged from their actions. We must, however, inquire, in order to discover whether they acted according to it or not, and we shall then arrive at an undeniable conclusion that their

actions were in opposition to the doctrines of their religion. But at the same time, we find that those conquerors who were anxious to act according to the doctrines of their religion did practise tolerance, and granted amnesty, security, and protection to all their subjects, irrespective of caste or creed. History furnishes us with innumerable instances of the tolerance of Moslem conquerors, and we shall here quote a few remarks made by various Christian writers, which prove the tolerant spirit of Islam.

Though we are told that the Moriscoes were banished because they would not turn Christians, I suspect there was another cause. I suspect they, by their arguments, so gained upon the Christians, that the ignorant monks thought that the only way their arguments could be answered was by the Inquisition and the sword ; and I have no doubt they were right, as far as their wretched powers of answering them extended. In the countries conquered by the Caliphs, the peaceable inhabitants, whether Greeks, Persians, Sabeans, or Hindus, were not put to the sword as the Christians have represented, but after the conquest was terminated, were left in the peaceable possession of their properties and religion, paying a tax for the enjoyment of this latter privilege, so trifling as to be an oppression to none. In all the history of the Caliphs, there cannot be shown anything half so infamous as the Inquisition, nor a single instance of an individual burnt for his religious opinion, nor, do I believe, put to death in a time of peace for simply not embracing the religion of Islam. No doubt the later Mohammedan conquerors, in their expeditions, have been guilty of the great cruelties Christian authors have sedulously laid to the charge of their religion ; but this is not just. Assuredly religious bigotry increased the evils of war, but in this the Mohammedan conquerors were not worse than the Christians. . . .

John Davenport, in his "Apology," writes in the following strain : "It was at the Council of Nicea that Constantine invested the priesthood with that power whence flowed the most disastrous consequences, as the following summary will show : the massacres and devastations of nine mad crusades of Christians against unoffending Turks, during nearly two hundred years,

in which many millions of human beings perished; the massacres of the Anabaptists; the massacres of the Lutherans and Papists, from the Rhine to the extremities of the North; the massacres ordered by Henry VIII. and his daughter Mary; the Massacre of St. Bartholomew in France; and forty years more of other massacres, between the time of Francis I. and the entry of Henry IV. into Paris; the massacres of the Inquisition, which are more execrable still, as being judicially committed; to say nothing of the innumerable schisms, and twenty years of popes against popes, bishops against bishops; the poisonings, assassinations; the cruel rapines and insolent pretensions of more than a dozen popes, who far exceeded a Nero or a Caligula in every species of crime, vice, and wickedness; and lastly, to conclude this frightful list, the massacre of twelve millions of the inhabitants of the New World, executed crucifix in hand! It surely must be confessed that so hideous and almost uninterrupted a chain of religious wars, for fourteen centuries, never subsisted but among Christians, and that none of the numerous nations stigmatised as heathen ever spilled a drop of blood on the score of theological arguments."

The celebrated Mr. Gibbon, the greatest of the modern historians, and whose authority cannot be doubted or questioned, writes as follows: "The wars of the Mohammedans were sanctified by the Prophet; but, among the various precepts and examples of his life, the Caliphs selected the lessons of toleration that might tend to disarm the resistance of the unbelieving, Arabia was the temple and patrimony of the God of Mohammed; but he beheld with less jealousy and affection the other nations of the earth. The polytheists and idolaters who were ignorant of his name might be lawfully extirpated; but a wise policy supplied the obligations of justice, and, after some acts of intolerant zeal, the Mohammedan conquerors of Hindustan have spared the pagodas of that devout and populous country. The disciples of Abraham, of Moses, and of Jesus were solemnly invited to accept the more perfect revelation of Mohammed; but if they preferred the payment of a moderate tribute, they were entitled to the freedom of conscience and religious worship."

The author of an article entitled "Islam as a Poli-

tical System," inserted in the "East and the West," thus expresses himself on the subject under consideration: "Mohammed was the only founder of a religion who was at the same time a temporal prince and a warrior. Their power lay exclusively in restraining violence and ambition; his temptation was ambition, and the sword was at his disposal. It is therefore to be expected that, making religion a means of temporal power, and having obtained that sway over the minds of his followers by which they accepted as law and right whatever he chose to promulgate, his code should be found at variance with all others, and even in opposition to those dictates of justice which are implanted in the breasts of all men. If, then, we find that it is not so—if we find him establishing maxims of right in international dealings, of clemency in the use of victory, moderation in that of power, above all, of toleration in religion,—we must acknowledge that, amongst men who have run a distinguished course, he possesses peculiar claims to the admiration of his fellow-creatures." Again he says: "Islam has never interfered with the dogmas of any faith, never persecuted, never established an Inquisition, never aimed at proselytism. It offered its religion, but never enforced it; and the acceptance of that religion conferred coequal rights with the conquering body, and emancipated the vanquished States from the conditions which every conqueror, since the world existed up to the period of Mohammed, has invariably imposed."

Copies of these Essays were sent by Syed Ahmed to the Sultan of Turkey and the Khedive of Egypt.

CHAPTER IX.

SYED AHMED'S LETTERS FROM ENGLAND—JOURNEY ACROSS INDIA—THE BARODA—MISS CARPENTER—A RELIGIOUS DISCUSSION—SEA - SICKNESS — ADEN — EGYPT — MARSEILLES.

WHILST in England, Syed Ahmed wrote a series of letters which appeared in the "Allygurh Institute Gazette" in Urdu, and from these, as they are very interesting, I give translated extracts :—

"On the 1st April 1869, I left Benares with my two sons, and Chajju, my servant. On the 2nd we remained at Allahabad, having an interview there with Sir William Muir, and bidding farewell to numerous friends and well-wishers. We left by the night train for Jubbulpore, arriving there the next day, and put up at Mr. Palmer's hotel. On asking for a *dak* (the railway was not then finished) to Nagpur, I found to my horror that I ought to have booked one long beforehand, and that not a single *dak* was available for seventeen days. How in all the world were we to arrive in Bombay by the 9th, the day on which our steamer was to sail? By Mr. Palmer's advice, I hired bullocks and a carriage from Messrs. Howard & Co., and we got off at 8 P.M. on the 3rd. For three days and three nights we travelled without stopping, except for food, the stages

for the bullocks being every five miles apart. At Damoh we found the *dak* bungalow full of gentlemen and ladies, so remained under a tree, sent for milk sweetened with sugar, got a fowl, which Chujju cooked, and some *chupattis*, and enjoyed our meal extremely.

"Going from Jubbulpore to Nagpur, the traveller passes through three districts—viz., Seonee, Dewalapur, and Kampti. The road is an excellent one, but passes through many ravines and over rivers, and in some places the bullocks had difficulty in pulling us up, and had to be supplemented by additional ones. On our arrival at Nagpur we went to the railway station, which we found crammed with Englishmen, women, and children. We fortunately got a couple of small rooms in a 'go-down,' and were glad to rest ourselves after the fatigues of the road. Never having come south of Allahabad, I was struck by the differences in the aspect of the country, particularly by the black cotton soil, so different from that of the North-West Provinces, and the frequent ranges of hills.

"On the 7th, at 9 A.M., we left Nagpur by train, and reached Bombay at mid-day on the 8th. I was greatly struck with the wonderful engineering works on the *ghats*—the tunnels especially seeming to me to be rather the work of Titans than of men. An amusing episode occurred to me at one of the stations. I sent a telegram to a friend which cost Rs.3. The signaller shortly afterwards came to me and said, 'By omitting two words the message will only cost Rs.2. Let me have 8 annas, and you will thus save 8 annas, and the company will not have been robbed!' I cut off the two words and presented the signaller with his 8 annas. At Bombay we stayed at the Byculla (Pallinjee) Hotel; and at 6 P.M. on the 10th, the Peninsular and Oriental

steamship Baroda steamed out of the harbour with us on board."

The Syed gives a most minute account of the Baroda,—the engines, cabins, baths, &c., being much admired by him. The saloon, he wrote, is "heaven!" He laments his want of foresight at not having brought a chair with him:—

"One of my fellow-passengers" he says, "was Major-General Babbington of the Madras Army, who was most kind to us all, and who promised that we should have no difficulty in getting from Marseilles to Calais, owing to our want of knowledge of French. Another was Miss Carpenter, so well known for her philanthropy and her efforts in the cause of female education in Calcutta and Bombay. I had long and interesting conversations with her upon female and general education, as well as upon other important matters. Her want of knowledge of Urdu and my want of knowledge of English was rather a drawback, but we got on very well by using Mahmud and Khudadad Beg (who joined our party at Bombay) as translators. Miss Carpenter is a native of Bristol, daughter of a Dr. Carpenter, and she has made herself famous in her native town by her efforts in educating the children of the poor. Raja Ram Mohan Rai, the Unitarian, was a great friend of hers, and he died at her father's house whilst on a visit. It was his description of the sad state of Indian women that caused her voyage to India. She had a book with her containing opinions on the state of Indian women from many influential natives, and she asked me to contribute mine thereto. I wrote: '*En route* to London I have made the acquaintance of Miss Carpenter—an acquaintance which honours and gives me the highest

pleasure. Since I first heard her name in connection with her efforts for the advancement of Indian women, I have been desirous of making her acquaintance. Thanks to God, that pleasure has now been vouchsafed to me.' Her lofty aims, keen insight, and goodness of heart are evidenced by her efforts in the cause of Indian women. To interest one's self in the education of woman, whom God hath made as an helpmate to man in good works, is worthy of every praise. To do good in every way is most laudable, as, if the foundation is good, good results must follow. Even if mistakes be made at the commencement, efforts thus made excite the emulation of others, and the right results will ensue Efforts for good are sometimes frustrated owing to their being contrary to the manners and customs of those for whose good they are intended. In such cases, it is like going contrary to nature ; and by doing so, weapons are forged to prevent any good resulting. God told Joshua to order the sun to stand still, although that was wrong, as the order should have been for the earth to stop ; but God knew what was the general opinion on earth at that time, so gave His order in accordance with the same. If thus we do not strive after good in accordance with manners and customs, we shall not have done as God did, and evil will result. In any case, I trust and hope that Miss Carpenter's endeavours may be crowned with success, and that the men and women of Hindustan, who are really one, will have their hearts enlightened by truth and culture.

"There was an officer of Royal Artillery on board who one night came and sat beside me, and asked me if I was going to London. I answered in the affirmative.

"He said, 'I am no missionary, but an officer of

artillery from Madras, where I was told that there were only three true religions—the Hindu, Christian, and Mohammedan. I do not believe this, as there can only be one true religion.' I agreed with him, adding that different religions resting on different foundations could not all be true—that one religion, even although there might be many sects in it, must be the true one. He then said that, according to his belief, the Christian was the true one. I said that every one thought his own religion the true one. He replied that others were wrong. I asked him what proof he had of his being right and others wrong,—on which he asked me to contemplate what the Christian race had done ; how the English had been blessed by God above all other nations ; how they surpassed all other nations in the arts and sciences and philosophy ; what a wonderful thing the ship we were in was, and how she speeded through the waters by the appliances of science. 'You have seen,' he said, 'the wonders of the railway and the telegraph. No other nation is so powerful in war as mine. If any other religion were the true one, God would have blessed it as He has mine.' I told him that all the things he had pointed out to me were worldly matters—they proved nothing as to the truth or otherwise of any religion ; that he should remember that God did not give His dearly loved Job or Jesus Christ much in this world ; that this world was not for good men, but that they should look forward to a future one. He remained silent for a short time, and I hoped that he had finished, as I am extremely averse to talking on religious subjects, seeing that by doing so friendships are often prevented. Unfortunately, he returned to the subject and said, 'I wish to tell you one thing which is undoubtedly true, and which I

firmly believe in—*i.e.*, that no one can enter heaven except through Jesus Christ.' I told him that I had already said that every one stands by his own religion, on which he asked me if I in like manner believed in Mohammed. As this question was slightly against my religious belief, as I do not lean on any man but trust entirely in God, I delayed a little before replying. Thinking over it, I thought that as Mohammed had taught me to trust in God alone, I might answer in the affirmative, and I did so. He said, 'Do I see, by your hesitation, that you have not that full trust in Mohammed?' I told him that there was something slightly wrong in his question, as Mohammed had taught us to believe in no other way of attaining to the delights of Paradise than by believing in and worshipping the one true God, and that I believed in this as firmly as that I saw the bright star above me He remained silent, and shortly after left.

"Although this religious discussion was distasteful to me, I was of opinion, with regard to him, that he was a true, humble, and loving Christian; but I am sorry to say that this did not prove to be the case, as after this he never came near me or spoke to me. If I met him and said 'Good morning,' he merely salaamed with his hand. I was several times on the point of going up to him and asking him to pardon anything that I had offended him by saying; but as I did not know him well enough, I did not like to do so, and refrained.

"As regards food arrangements, there are long tables in the saloon, with benches and chairs sufficient to accommodate the whole of the passengers. There is a knife, fork, and spoon for each person. Every one sits where he likes, having first put his card at the

place which he may prefer. This seat is not changed during the voyage. Tea and bread and butter are provided early in the morning; breakfast at 8 or 9; tiffin at mid-day; dinner at 4 P.M.; and tea and coffee, bread and butter and biscuits, at 9 o'clock. There is always a plentiful supply of excellent fruit. The cook and the man who kills and cleans the animals for food are both Europeans. On inquiry, I found that such animals as sheep, goats, &c., are killed by having the principal vein in the neck severed—even Europeans thinking it proper to let out the blood of such animals. As regards fowls, Europeans merely wring their necks; and as this manner of killing them is lawful to Christians in the same way that we Mohammedans deem the eating of fish and locusts lawful without cutting their throats, therefore, according to the tenets of Mohammed the Prophet, the eating of fowls killed in this manner is also lawful for Mohammedans. For these reasons, we ate freely of mutton, beef, chickens, and pigeons—all excellent of their kind. At our first meal sherry and claret glasses were alongside our plates, but we turned them upside down. The tumblers we kept for water. The steward who attended us, thinking that we drank wine, brought us a bottle of some kind; and thinking that I must be the great man of the party, having a long white beard, began pouring some out for me. I said, 'No, no!' and he stopped, but gave me the names of a number of other wines. I kept on saying 'No, no! only cold water,' and he then removed the wine-glasses and brought us iced water, the liquor made by the Almighty for mankind. After this he never brought us liquor again. I think pork is never given till asked for. So it never came to us!

"We were in high spirits when we started, and

enjoyed the cool sea-breeze after the heat of the land. On sitting down to dinner and eating a little, I felt my brain shaking with the motion of the ship, which was tossing a little. The side of my head which was towards the side to which the ship pitched, felt as if a great weight were in it, and the other side felt correspondingly empty. The ship's motions were frequent and continuous, so also was the feeling in my brain. We became uneasy and went on deck, where, after a a walk, we felt better. At bedtime we went to bed and slept well. In the morning I rose and repeated the morning prayers, feeling very well. Khudadad Beg was also all right, but Mahmud was silent, and lay down a good deal. Hamid was worst of us all—his head feeling heavy, his mind uneasy, and feeling inclined to be sick. About noon I became bad, and my head was so giddy that I was unable to rise. Mahmud was not so ill, but hid himself all day and night. Hamid got worse and worse—could not go into the cabin, and lay on deck for four days and nights without eating an atom, and loathing the very name of food. The smell of it made him sick. I was ill for a day and a half, when I became all right. Khudadad Beg kept all right, although he felt slightly ill at times. Chajju was also well, but I have my suspicions that he had been sick. One of the ship's officers, seeing how ill Mahmud was, brought him some medicine in a glass, with a little spirit in it—not wine or brandy, &c., but some other spirit. Mahmud thanked him for so kindly taking the trouble of bringing it for him, but said he would not drink it if there was any spirit in it. The officer urged Mahmud, but he continued firm; so the kind-hearted man went off and brought some medicine

in which there was no spirit, and it did Mahmud much good.

"Sunday prayers are repeated the same as on shore. If there is no clergyman on board, the captain reads them. We had the Rev. Mr. Taylor, of Kampti, on board. All the English assembled on deck and seated themselves on chairs and benches, and the clergyman read prayers. I stood silently and respectfully near them (walking every now and then), as God's name should be respected in every way. I saw the way God was prayed to, and admired His catholicity. Some men bow down to idols; others address Him seated on chairs, with heads uncovered; some worship Him with head covered and beads on, with hands clasped in profound respect; many abuse Him, but He cares nought for this. He is indeed the only one who is possessed of the attribute of catholicity.

"I was thinking thus when the service concluded. One of the passengers, a learned friend, asked me why I did not attend the service, and I said that there was no necessity for my doing so. He said, 'Is there not one God?' I said, 'It is not so in your prayers.' The gentleman said no more.

"There has been a sorrowful event in our ship. Captain ——— was brought on board at Bombay in a dying state—the only chance of saving him being a sea-voyage. He died during the night of the 11th. On the 12th, in the afternoon, his body was brought out on a board, covered with cloth; two cannon-balls were fastened to his legs, and the body was placed on the side of the ship. The chaplain repeated prayers; and the board being tilted up, the body fell into the sea as if jumping, and disappeared. The event produced a singular effect upon me; and thinking over his death

and his being thrown into the ocean, I repeated the following stanzas of Sadi :—

' When a pure soul has to take leave of the body,
What matter if it happen on a plank or on land? '

When man dies, do what you like—burn him, commit him to the deep, bury him in the earth,—what has been has been, and what is to be is to be.

" On the way to Aden we passed many sailing-vessels and steamers on their way to Bombay, but always at a distance of one or two miles. Only two sailing-vessels came very close to us, which I shall treat of presently. On sighting a vessel by day, flags were run up ; and as each nation has a different flag, the nationality of the vessel was ascertained when she ran up hers. One night we met a steamer, and our captain sent for fireworks, which first emitted a red, and then—after a slight explosion—a white light. Another one which burned blue kept alight for several minutes. This conversation, kept up between vessels miles asunder, struck me as very curious and desirable. On the 12th April we met two English sailing-vessels with coal, &c., on board, one of which signalled to us, and flags were run up in reply. I inquired as to the question and answer, and was told that the sailing-vessel had asked the latitude and longitude, and we had replied, 17° 20′ latitude, and 65° 5′ longitude. The method in which the daily run is measured is very curious and simple. There is a rope with a piece of wood at the end—a quarter-circle—which is frequently thrown over the stern, and is stopped when the sand in a sand-glass runs out at the end of a minute, which is the time the sand takes to empty itself in. The distance thus run in a minute gives the basis of the calculation for the hour. . . .

"The passengers as far as Aden had only two games besides chess—viz., skittles and quoits. At night our ship, as she sped on her way, displaced many small insects, which gleamed and left a stream of light behind us. Many curious flying-fish were seen—shoals of them jumping out of the water on our approach, and flying for thirty or forty yards before falling into the sea. One of them flew into Major Fraser's cabin! . . .

"Shortly after leaving Bombay we got out of sight of land—nothing but water being visible—the heavens rising on all sides out of the ocean like a gigantic lid This went on for six days and nights; but early on *Friday, the 16th April, the Arabian coast came in sight, greatly to my delight. As I gazed upon it, I thought* of God having caused our blessed Prophet to be born in it. Major Dodd, Director of Public Instruction at Nagpur, my great friend, came up to me as I was gazing, and asked me if I had seen the land of the Prophet? I said 'Yes; this is Arabia the blest.' That evening the lofty mountain on which Aden is situated was visible, the lighthouse to guide us in gleaming brightly from it.

"Early next morning we arrived at Aden—the vessel casting anchor close to the shore. The journey so far across the ocean had been prosperous and smooth, and I blessed God for permitting it to be so. I hoped that the Red Sea would prove the same. All four of us, with Chajju, got into a small boat, and were rowed to the land, where we found carriages and pairs, horses and donkeys, all ready. There is a Parsi's hotel here, and a number of shops close by. The fort and cantonments are a little over two miles off. We drove to the latter in a carriage and pair. The tanks for water here

are wonderful—the date of their construction being unknown. We first of all visited them, and found them to be ten or twelve in number, built one above the other, and very deep. When rain falls it fills the highest, and when it is full, the rest are filled in succession. People say that they were built so that if rain fell for only two hours or so, they would all be filled. Aden being situated on the sea, the water is very brackish—every well in the place being so. For this reason, therefore, some king of Arabia—prior to the advent of Mohammed—had these tanks excavated to catch the rainfall, and the residents of Aden get all their drinking-water from them. It is popularly supposed here that they were built by King Shaddad. The English have repaired them splendidly, iron railings and *pucka* roads running round them all. Pretty bridges are placed at intervals, and trees which can flourish at Aden adorn the spaces between the tanks There are benches for tired promenaders, and altogether this hell upon earth has been turned into a little paradise. The heat of Aden is beyond description—not a single blade of green grass or a green tree being visible. Water put out at night to drink is in the morning like hot water, and there is no ice to be got. Drinking-water is very dear. being three pice for a *serai* containing three glasses. Close to the tanks some Parsis and Arabs combined to dig a large one, which also gets filled in its turn. It is of great depth, and there was plenty of water in it at our visit. Horses and cattle drink from it, and I believe each animal's drink costs two annas. I hear that the income from this tank is reserved to the builders for seven years, after which the income will go to Government.

"We afterwards visited the bazaars, where we came

across a couple of shops which sold roasted Indian corn, of which we bought in memory of Hindustan. We also bought bread and meat, and *chupattis* cooked like those at the Kutab, near Delhi; and going to a *masjid*, had our food, and gave away what remained to the beggars.

"There are many races in Aden, but Arabs and Egyptians preponderate. The Somalis are most numerous, but I have not been able to find out what race they are. They speak Arabic, but so badly that I could only understand four or five words. They also did not understand my Arabic well. I was greatly delighted to hear these Somalis talking a little Urdu, which they knew sufficient of to make it easy for a Hindustani to get all necessary work done. The Somalis are also pretty well up in English and French—knowing the former, however, better than the latter. There are several *masjids* here, the largest being the 'Idris,'—the 'Jumma' being the largest convent. On leaving our mosque where we had eaten, I saw a Hindu, to whom I spoke, and found that he was a Marwari from Bombay, and was then a merchant at Aden. He had been here for a long time, having, however, constantly visited Bombay. He told me that there were three Hindu temples in Aden, those of Mahadeo, Hanuman, and another, the name of which I have forgotten, all of which had been built by contributions from Hindus visiting the place. I was delighted to find that Hindus could come so far across the ocean in steamers without losing their caste. God grant that the Hindus of my part of India will soon take this to heart. All the inhabitants, shopkeepers and others, were very dirty, the Somalis being just like savages.

The English certainly are the cleanest of nations, although some of their customs are open to cavil.

"Although the Cantonment at Aden is a small one—only, I believe, having some 300 or 400 English and native soldiers—there is apparently a vast amount of artillery. The Cantonment is well and prettily laid out, and is situated inside the fortress. The bazaars are all near at hand. The so-called fort is really a hill: hills are all round, and the Cantonment is in the valley within. The entrance road was made by the English cutting through a hill. Ten determined men could hold it against an army. Owing to the hills being well fortified, Aden is practically impregnable. The sight of it filled my heart with a sense of British power. It is the outlying sentry on the road to India, and the key to the Red Sea. If trouble were to break out in India, any amount of munitions of war could be poured into it in six days. If a quarrel broke out with the Egyptian Government, or the French made an attack on that country, an expedition could soon reach Egypt from Aden with food and arms for 50,000 men. I say that it is the key of the Red Sea, because the present force in it is sufficient, if necessary, to prevent a single vessel getting into or out of the Red Sea. It was formerly under the Turks, and was, I think, taken by the English about thirty years ago. Its affairs are now under the government of India. I am told that, prior to the advent of the English, it was in a wretched state, with only one miserable Somali village on the hills, which is still to be seen, I believe. The Turkish Wall was built after the arrival of the English, to separate their fortifications from the soil of Turkey. It is very high and strong, and is defended by guns and Europeans. In it is a gate through which people

go to and fro—all incomers, however, having to deposit any arms they may be carrying before being allowed to enter. I am sorry that I was unable to visit it. On the beach is a machine which changes sea-water into good drinking-water, used by the residents. We were greatly amused by numerous Somali boys swimming and diving round the ship like frogs, and calling for *backsheesh*. Any coin thrown into the sea is at once dived after and brought up by them. I counted twenty-one boys in the water, all of them remaining from 8 A.M. to 5 P.M. without ever getting out, and constantly diving for two-anna bits.

"At 5 P.M. on the 17th April we weighed anchor and started for Suez. An Arabian pilot called Mutwalli came on board at Aden who did not know of what race he was (the Adenites call them 'Arkatis'), whose pronunciation of Arabic was similiar to that of the Somali, and who was illiterate, and said that he was a native of 'Bari-i-Arab.' He was filthily dirty, but knew a good deal of English and French. I was told that we should pass through the Straits of Bab el Mandeb during the night; and as I had always heard that the passage was dangerous, I was very anxious to see it, On nearing it I was awoke by a man whom I had asked to do so, and saw hills—but not very lofty ones—on both sides. The pass appeared to be about three miles broad, and not in the least dangerous; but it may be so from sunken rocks. Perhaps for sailing vessels or other nations' vessels besides the English it may be dangerous, but our vessel glided through it in perfect safety, although in the night-time. Europeans have certainly brought the science of sailing to the utmost perfection, and can take their vessels to the uttermost parts of the earth in one straight line for hundreds and

thousands of miles. If they wish their vessel to describe a circle, she obeys like a well-trained circus-horse. During the night I saw a very small island called Perim, situated at the very entrance to the Red Sea. It is about three miles long by one broad. The lighthouse is the only building upon it, and some few sepoys are there to signal with flags. A few years ago it was uninhabited, and did not belong to any nationality. Perhaps, according to European international law, any nation that wanted it might take it. Louis Napoleon, Emperor of France, sent a vessel out to take it, which vessel came by a long roundabout way to Aden, where she anchored, intending to take possession of Perim the next morning. The English commanding officer at Aden went on board at night to pay the captain a visit, dined there, and was told by the French officer of the object for which he had come. The English officer took a bit of paper and pencil out of his pocket, and wrote—under the table—a note to the captain of the English steamer then at Aden, telling him to light the fires and get up steam at once. The writer remained chatting with his host, and after a little bade him good night—went straight on board his ship, and steaming out of the harbour, reached Perim during the night, and planted the British flag on it. In the morning the French officer arrived, and found to his astonishment the English flag flying. He went back much mortified. It is said that Napoleon was greatly incensed when he heard of this, and made numerous representations on the subject in London, but without avail. His object was to get a coaling-station for French steamers.

"On the morning of the 18th April we were in the Red Sea, and a couple of days later fine lofty hills were

in sight. On the one side we could see Arabia, on the other Africa. The hills on both sides were barren to a degree—not a sign of a tree or of water was to be seen.

"On the night of the 22nd we were roused out of our sleep by the sea pouring in through the port-holes and drenching our beds. We got rather frightened, and took refuge in the saloon, and found that all the cabins on our side had fared similarly—their occupants all running into the saloon! The stewards were called, the port-holes were shut, and the drenched bed-linen carried away. We passed the night as best we could. Mahmud, against my advice, persisted in sleeping on the wet bed-clothes, and got rheumatism in his arm in consequence. It only lasted a day, however. The wind became very high, right in our teeth, and the vessel pitched violently, and I was very ill—my head aching dreadfully, but I was not actually sick. The English were astonished at my being unwell on such a lovely sea, and said 'None of us are ill.' I noticed, however, that *some* were— a few very ill indeed! Mirza Khudadad Beg was very ill also; Hamid ditto. On the wind and sea falling, most of us were all right again. A lady said to me 'Don't drink liquor to get intoxicated—I never touch it myself—but take a small quantity of brandy as a medicine; I will call the steward and tell him to bring you some. You will get well at once.' I thanked her warmly, but said I was unable to touch it.

"On this day we overtook the steamer Ganges, which had left Bombay three days before us. Both vessels saluted with flags, and then had a conversation by means of the same. On the first occasion of this being done, I was under the idea that they could only speak

on nautical matters; but I found that I was mistaken, and that a conversation could be kept up on anything under the sun. On this occasion the Ganges asked us to pitch her a rope and tow her, to which we laughingly replied, 'Come along behind us.' This art of talking by means of flags is confined only to Americans and Europeans. There is a locked signal-book kept on board, in which everything necessary to work the ship is entered in the most simple manner possible—so much so, that even men who cannot read well can understand and do their work. This is entirely owing to the fact that all the arts and sciences are treated of in the language that they know. If all the arts and sciences were not given in English, but in Latin, Greek, Persian, or Arabic, the English would be in the same state of ignorance as, I am sorry to say, the masses of Hindustan are buried. Until we assimilate these arts and sciences into our own language, we shall remain in this wretched state.

"On this day I saw Sinai, the mountain of the prophet Moses, and examined it through a telescope. I heard that a Roman Catholic church has existed on its summit for many years. At night we passed the island of Shirwan, which belongs to Africa; but I was unable to see it well owing to the darkness. I was told that there was a station of the Overland Telegraph Company on it. It is but a small island, about eight or ten miles in length, and two or three in breadth.

"On Friday the 23rd April, at 7 A.M., we arrived all right at Suez, where we disembarked, and went to the Suez Hotel. We were now in the territory of the Viceroy of Egypt. On entering the hotel, I saw the first signs of being in Turkish territory in the following words, in Arabic, written on the belts of the hotel ser-

vants : 'Suez Hotel.' This hotel is an excellent one—is two-storeyed all round, with good accommodation for travellers. In the centre is a square with a *shamiana* (a large square tent on poles at each corner), all decorated with flowers in pots or tubs, laid out tastefully, lining the walls. In the centre of all are tables and chairs for the occupants. Large numbers of donkeys are always at hand to make the tour of the town. A number of the English said they would go and see the Canal, five miles off; and I also intended going, but on hearing that the earth was merely being excavated, I did not care to go. My friend Major Dodd, and some ladies and gentlemen, went off to see it in a three-horse chaise; and I would have gone too if I could have got a carriage, but could not. Many Englishmen went off to it on donkeys, and one English lady also I saw get on a donkey and ride off in splendid style! On an Englishman requiring a donkey, there was a grand *tamasha*—dozens of donkey-boys rushing up to him, elbowing each other out of the way, and entreating him to take their donkeys, crying out 'Donkey, sir! donkey, sir! Very good, sir!' There was such a row, and such a number of quadrupeds enveloped the would-be rider, that he felt rather uncomfortable, till at length he got on somebody's donkey.

"I walked on the sea-shore, and then to the town, where I saw a very small and narrow bazaar filled with Egyptians, Turkish, German, and Greek merchants, many of the people talking Arabic. A novel feature to me was that the whole bazaar was paved with wood, which facilitated the carrying off of rain, which apparently does not often fall. There was no sun in the bazaar. I talked a long time with those who talked

Arabic, and the three youngsters bought Turkish fezzes and knives. I bought some Arabian bread, which I found to be of excellent flavour. We then went on to see the railway station, where I saw a Turkish officer, who, with the exception of a red cap, was dressed exactly like an Englishman. He had, however, a string of beads in his hand. I saluted him, and he me, but said nothing. Returning to the bazaar, I found a well-to-do-man standing with a turban on, and I saluted him, and commenced talking to him in Arabic. His name was Shaikh Ismail, and he was a native of Surbaya in Java. He had his son, Shaikh Usman, about eighteen years old, with him. He was a traveller—was formerly a Syrian, but had been in Java for twenty-five years, and had been to China, Australia, and India. He was in Egypt, he said, merely for pleasure. He spoke a little Urdu. In the Suez Hotel I made the acquaintance of Mohammed Takir, who is a writer in the service of the Nawab Nazim of Murshedabad, and who had been summoned to his master in London. He was going *viâ* Southampton.

"From Aden to Suez there are lighthouses at all dangerous parts, such as where there is little water or sunken rocks. These are worked by men, a brilliant light being thrown on the water from evening till morning, which can be seen from long distances. Those that I saw were at Perim, Abul Khissan, and Asharfi. The second, that at Abul Khissan, is entirely in the water. The lighters have a solitary life of it, being only relieved every two or three months : I pity their loneliness. That at Asharfi is a very fine one, and is close to Suez. It is 140 feet in height, of iron, and well worth seeing. From Suez to Alexandria the

journey is by Egyptian railway, all the officials of which are Egyptian, Turks, or Greeks.

"On the afternoon of Friday, the 23rd April, we left Suez by rail. I was under the impression that the country between Suez and Alexandria was a desert, and that we should get no water *en route*. I therefore laid in a supply of three *seraisful* (jugs) of water. We slept during the night; but I woke up before daylight, and found that we were at a handsome station, well lit up with lamps, just like those in use in India—the name of the station being Tautana. The night being dark, I could not see the town of this name, which is said to be a large one. In the morning a populous and handsome city came in view, the houses of which looked just like English ones. There were numerous minarets of mosques also. In Egypt the custom is not followed of having two minarets to each mosque, but one is built at any part of the inner square for the calling out of the *asan* (call to prayer). There is a similar single minaret near Delhi, near the Kutab Saheb Dargah, in the mosque of Kuwat-ul-Islam, called the 'Lat of the Kutab Saheb.' I was very pleased at seeing this city *on route*, and on inquiry found that its name was Kafar-uz-Ziat, and that some renowned Bedouin chief is buried there. Soon after daybreak I got out at a station near the Nile, where there is a capital hotel, at which we had coffee and bread and butter. The arrangements in this hotel were exactly the same as at an English one—the attendants only being Turks, dressed in English style, with fezzes on their heads English and Mohammedans mingled together at the same tables. I never tasted such splendid coffee, dashed with cow's milk, as I tasted here. Soon after leaving, the Nile came in sight, crossed by an excellent

though ugly iron bridge, which we went over. The ugliness of this bridge struck me, as in India our iron bridges are so graceful. We soon reached Damanhour station, which is the last before Alexandria, and arrived at the latter alongside our vessel, getting into her at once. We made ourselves comfortable in the Poona. I was sorry not to have had a look at Alexandria, except the few buildings visible from the sea. The port was crowded with steamers—sailing-vessels and *budgerows*,—one of the former being a French man-of-war, which was then on some business or other. I observed the Viceroy's steamer—a very handsome one, built in England—close by. There were one or two batteries on shore. There was a large house built on purpose for the viceroy's landing or embarking, but it did not seem to be a beautiful one. Close to it was the lighthouse.

"From the cursory view of Egypt which I got I was astonished. I have seen Malwa, which is thought to be the richest country as regards crops in India; but Egypt beats it into a cocked-hat. Its land seems to be splendidly manured, and the canals, with their branches, are innumerable. As far as I could see, there was not a single field unwatered by a canal. The science of canal-making is hereditary in the Egyptians. On all sides were sluices for regulating the water-supply. Where the land to be irrigated is higher than the canal, a wheel with buckets is made, which, driven by a donkey, pony, or bullock, carries the water up and throws it into a channel. In India our practice is to throw the water up in baskets worked by two men—and the Egyptian method would certainly be an improvement on it. At one place I saw a well being worked—the water being raised by a Persian wheel

similar to, but lighter and less expensive than, those in use in the Karnal and Panipat districts. I saw ploughing going on like ours in India—two horses or ponies, or bullocks, or buffaloes, drawing the plough.

"The special train that took us across Egypt consisted of first and second class only, built at Birmingham—the second class, in which my servant Chajju sat, being superior to those in use in India, they having leather cushions. The first-class carriages are exceedingly good and comfortable. In both classes there is room for eight persons—four on one side and four on the other. There are no arrangements for sleeping—each sleeping as in an arm-chair. There are no lavatories, &c., except at stations. I am told that these are the carriages in general use throughout Europe. The engine-drivers, guards, and attendants are all Egyptian or Turks, and are well up to their work, and very careful. What struck me was that all the carriages, pumps, pillars, rails, and all the various machines in use on this railway, even down to the iron rivets, were of English or French manufacture : not one of them had been made in Egypt or Turkey. There is certainly one thing in favour of the Egyptians, contrasted with natives of India—*i.e.*, that they can use the above materials, which my unfortunate fellow-countrymen cannot. The reason why the Egyptians can do this is, that all the scientific words necessary have been brought into use in their language, and this must be the case with us before we can rise to their level. One matter which grieved me was the dirty state of the railway and stations—the lanterns looking as if they had not been cleaned for months, and the beautiful iron pillars for giving water to the engine being inches deep in dirt. The same applies to

the canals, the banks of which were perfectly untrimmed—being just as they were when the earth was shovelled up and thrown on them. There is no doubt that the Europeans sucks in a love of cleanliness and beauty in all things with his mother's milk. The people of other lands have it not.

"About noon on the 24th April we left Alexandria for Marseilles, and I found myself for the first time on the Mediterranean. Our pilot was Alhaj Ahmed Baggri, a native of Alexandria, a very able and fine-looking man, and very well dressed, having on a long cloth coat similar to an English one, with trousers of the Egyptian pattern—baggy above and tight below—a shirt beneath the coat, a shawl round his waist, and a red fez on his head, with a very small turban. He was a well-read man in Arabic, talking that language fluently and well, as also English and French. He and I saw a good deal of each other, conversing in Arabic whenever there was an opportunity. He praised the Government of Egypt, of Cairo, and of Alexandria. When he found out that I was descended from the Bani Hashim Syed Rizwi, he became most friendly and respectful. Not a word of Urdu did he know—nor any geography, not even having heard of Delhi! He asked me how large was English rule in Hindustan, and whether there were any other rulers, and I told him all about the country—its cities, &c., and the English Government system. The Poona was a larger, better, and a faster vessel than the Baroda. She was built in 1862, and is 307 feet long, 41 feet wide, and 31 feet deep. The engines are 600-horse power, and are of a new sort, the whole being open to view. The Poona is a vessel of 2200 tons, and has a crew of 121—all Europeans. The captain, who has been at Bombay,

knows Urdu slightly and French well. Some of my former fellow-travellers had left us for Southampton or Trieste, and we had received some new passengers, so that altogether we were now 100 on board. I was glad that Major Dodd, Miss Carpenter, and other friends were amongst us. A new thing on this ship was the arrangements of the bath-room. On the other side there was no use for hot water, but on this side Europe commences and the cold is felt. In the bath-rooms, therefore, there are the following excellent arrangements: The bath is the same as on the Suez side, except being of iron; there are two pipes and three taps, by turning one of which cold water rushes in—by turning another, steam rushes in and warms the water in five minutes—the third empties the bath.

"The day we left, Major Dodd said to me after dinner, 'Now you are in Europe.' I was delighted at my first day in it, and told him so. Major Dodd then said, 'You have left the land of the Prophet and come into that of the Kaffirs.' Although what he said was not what I could say was bad, and what he said harshly was with reference to his fellow-countrymen, I did not like it at all, and was displeased. I thought to myself how uncivil and impolite such a saying was, and wondered how it should have been said by a mild and just Director of Public Instruction. I waited a little, but thought I would not say this; I said, 'Do not say that; say rather that I have come to the land of the "people of the Book."' For hours after, however, I could not forget this saying of his, and wondered what sort of disposition his was. At last I came to the conclusion that he had not said it from bigotry, but that it had escaped him by chance, and I therefore erased from my mind all feeling of displeasure.

"Amongst the new passengers whose acquaintance I made was that of Mr. Fitzpatrick, formerly Deputy-Commissioner of Delhi, who was most kind to me, One day we were talking of the good and the evil of the Punjabi administration, and I said, 'Yes, it is a despotic Government, and undoubtedly a thousand times better than that of the Sikhs. Perhaps the Panjabis are happy and contented, as they have been taken out of the fire and put in the sun; but *we* are not pleased with it. If you want to know the opinions of those who were formerly in the regulation provinces, ask the inhabitants of Delhi, Panipat, Rohtat, Hissar, Lirsa, &c., as to the goodness or otherwise of the non-regulation system. As far as I know, these people believe that one of the punishments meted out to Delhi, &c., was the making them over to the Panjab non-regulation Government. The truth is, that in these days people do not like a despotic rule, nor are there now the benefits which, amongst a thousand blots, were to be found in former despotic Governments. It is impossible that these benefits can exist now in any despotic Government; and those who suppose that a despotic Government would now be far better than a constitutional one are entirely wrong. It is just as if a man who only saw a grove of trees in the autumn, could give a correct opinion as to how it would look in spring.'

"One great pleasure to me on board the Poona was meeting M. de Lesseps, who, as all the world knows, is the maker of the Suez Canal, and who, although many of the first engineers of the age asserted the impossibility of its being made, stuck to his firm belief in its constructibility, and said he would do it himself. He did it, and has now united two oceans. M. de

Lesseps was with the Prince of Wales on his Royal Highness's visit to the Canal, and came with him from Suez in the Poona to see it. It was on the second day of our voyage that I heard about him. He does not know English ; but the captain, who knows French, introduced me to him, and M. de Lesseps was most kind to me, and shook me warmly by the hand. I was delighted to find that he spoke a little Arabic, and conversed with him to some extent in that language. From that day he always met me cordially, and we sat for hours daily at the same table writing. One day he told, before a lot of people, the story of the Suez Canal, and mentioned several old traces of the time of Moses found in its neighbourhood. He told me that when I returned from England, he hoped the vessel that I would be in would pass through the Canal, as he thought that six months would not elapse before it was open to vessels of all sizes. It was a very great pleasure and honour to me to meet a man whose determination and pluck were equal to his science, and who has not his equal in the whole world.

"The day before reaching Marseilles, all the English in the ship agreed to present M. de Lesseps with an address, congratulating him on his success with the Canal ; and the address was presented to him after dinner on the 28th April. Captain Methven first of all made a long speech, then Mr. Ousley, then General Japp, then Mr. Bartlett, then Mr. Saunders, and then the address signed by all the passengers on board was presented. He stood up to receive it, and made a lengthy speech of thanks in French. The best parts of the speeches which are worth remembering are : 'It is undoubtedly but proper,' said General Japp, 'that the Canal, instead of being called that of Suez, should be

known as "the Lesseps Canal."' I perfectly agree with him that a man like him should have every possible honour—an honour, especially, which would hand his name down to posterity—shown him. In the course of his speech M. de Lesseps said that 'I shall feel more grateful and honoured if, instead of the Canal being called by my name, it be called by that of "France."' When I was told by a friend of this, my heart was filled with gladness, and I applauded the generosity of the brave man who desired his country's fame rather than his own pleasure and honour. I lamented the degeneracy of my own race, who are, as a rule, steeped in envy and all uncharitableness, and saw only too plainly that by such bad habits they are dishonoured and unfortunate. It must be noted here that in Egypt the Canal is known from highest to lowest as the 'French' Canal. This great work of the French constitutes a new epoch.

"I was astonished, by the by, by what my friend Major-General Babbington wrote in Miss Carpenter's book, on being requested to write something. He wrote that 'the natives of India are heartless and ungrateful.' These words showed me that, in spite of his apparent pleasure in mixing with us Indians, in his heart he had but a poor estimation of us, and the consequence is that Englishmen and Hindustanis are not friends. Hindustanis have queer ideas about the English, and the English have other ideas about the Hindustanis. There are no doubt errors on both sides.

"Nasiban, *ayah* to Mrs. Couper, the wife of the Deputy-Commissioner of Lucknow, was on board, and she was as wonderful a person in her way as the Suez Canal is a work. She is a Pathani of Cawnpore, and she told me this was her twenty-first trip to Europe,

being always employed in attendance on children. She knew English well, and had been to England, Scotland, Ireland, France, Portugal, &c. I thought to myself that she was better than most men. I was once standing talking with her—Major Dodd, my good friend, being by—and I asked her what her religion was. She said, 'I am a Mohammedan.' Major Dodd, either in fun or sneeringly, said, 'Of *your* religion.' I most cordially and pleasantly agreed with him, and said that all men are my lineal brothers, being born of our common ancestor; and all Mohammedans are my brethren in religion, being believers in one God.

"On the voyage to Marseilles there were many interesting sights. For three days nothing was visible but water; but on the 27th, about 4 P.M, the coast of Italy and Sicily came in sight, and the farther we went, the more wonderful became the sights—cities following one upon the other in numbers. On our right was Italy, on the left Sicily; and on entering the Straits of Messina, these countries were so near that it almost seemed that I could put one hand on the one and the other hand on the other.

"I wanted very much to see Mount Etna, but was unsuccessful in the Straits; but the moment we got out of them, it stood in front of us, and was quite plainly seen through binoculars. It was not in action. I was disappointed that we passed Capria and the Straits of Bonifacio at night—the former the residence of Garibaldi. Corsica, the birthplace of the great Napoleon, was also missed by us. I had a great desire to view the cottage of Garibaldi, the generous and the brave,—that cottage which is more honoured and revered than the palaces of powerful rulers,—and I regret extremely that owing to the darkness this

pleasure was denied me. Stromboli, the crater on the island of Sardinia, was visible to the naked eye, and I saw it very well through the binoculars. It is 3000 feet high, and when active the flames are seen from long distances. It was not active when we passed. I cannot describe the beauties of the towns which I saw on the shores of Italy and Sicily. English towns are in themselves beautiful, but the sight of these lovely towns, nestling at the foot of and on the mountains made by nature, made a powerful impression upon me. There were many lovely churches built on lofty spurs on the mountains. Railways run along the shores and hills of Italy—long iron bridges spanning the creeks and rivers—and stations being dotted along the line. All these add to the beauty of the scenery, and must be seen to be appreciated. Messina, the capital of Sicily, is a large and splendid city, and we passed quite close to it, seeing it all very plainly. The walls of the citadel come down to the sea, and picturesque batteries line the shore. At one time Sicily was for long in the hands of the Mohammedans, but I could not see any buildings built by our race. That there must be some traces of our occupation is, I think, certain.

"The next morning, on emerging from the Straits of Bonifacio, Toulon, a French city, came in sight, and I saw for the first time in my life, although I had heard of it, a wonderful picture—viz., twelve line-of-battle ships, all manœuvring together, and firing shotted guns. Like soldiers the vessels paraded,—sometimes being in twos, &c., and then forming line—sometimes steaming away, and then returning like leaves blown about from the tree. When the numerous shells struck the water, pillars of water like fountains were thrown up, and it was where these rose up that

we knew the shells had fallen. It was a wonderful sight, seen by me for the first time in my life.

"I had been told that the waves in the Mediterranean were very big, and that vessels were much damaged by them; also, that hurricanes were frequent. As I had suffered whenever the weather was rough, I was much afraid on this point ; but for a wonder, the sea was perfectly calm, like water in a cup. The passengers said that this was very unusual. Several whales were sighted, and showed themselves freely before diving down again. Sometimes two or three could be seen playing about together, just like kittens. Those that I saw were the size of Ganges boats.

"On the 29th April, at night, we reached Marseilles all safe. The docks here are very fine, large ships being able to lie alongside of them. Our vessel was moored to one, and we walked ashore. Prior to arriving, all the luggage was brought up from the hold, and piled on deck and ticketed. On the arrival of the vessel, the French Customs officers came on board, and the whole of the baggage was made over to them. In the large Custom-house the boxes were ranged on tables according to the letters of the alphabet, and we all assembled in an adjoining room, which was comfortably furnished with tables and chairs. In a short time a narrow door opened into the large room, and the travellers all crowded to get in. An official, however, only allowed a certain number in, who opened their baggage for the inspection of the officials. The search was conducted very quietly and easily, the officials sometimes merely asking gentlemen if they had anything dutiable ; and on their replying in the negative, the boxes would be shut up. Others again, when told that there was a certain amount of dutiable articles,

took the traveller's word for it, and assessed him accordingly. We had ten boxes with us, and amongst other things in them were a pair of new shawls wrapped up in a separate parcel. Some of my friends told me that, although they were not subject to duty, being for wear, it would be as well not to keep them separate. I accordingly opened the parcel, and put the shawls with my other clothes. On my boxes being opened, Khudadad Beg, Hamid, and Chajju went into the room, and were asked if they had only wearing apparel and nothing liable to duty. Khudadad Beg said they had nothing. He was asked if he had any tobacco, and replied in the negative. He was told he might take his boxes away, and porters carried them outside, and marked them as having been examined. The same procedure went on at other tables, and the whole examination did not probably last longer than an hour and a half.

"With regard to the Peninsular and Oriental Company, which had so far brought us on our way to England, I think that the arrangements for the comfort of travellers on board their vessels are excellent. I made over all my luggage to their agent in Bombay, and they were responsible for its transit through Egypt. The names of the passengers who were to occupy the different railway carriages were affixed by an agent of the Company to each carriage. Some of the English passengers complained of the food from Bombay to Suez; but I thought that rather unreasonable, as it is impossible to have meat very good in a warm climate. The meat on the Europe side was such as I have never before tasted, and altogether the passengers should be very grateful to the Company.

"On landing at Marseilles I saw numerous cabs and

omnibuses, and a number of very gentlemanly men standing about. These were the hotel commissionaires, who at once asked me what hotel I was going to. I said, 'The Hotel de Louvre,' as we had beforehand arranged to go there. The hotel commissionaire at once brought up his omnibus, and put all our luggage on it, we having no trouble with it whatever. Other passengers joined us, and we drove off to the hotel. It was night as we drove through the first European city that I had ever been in, and I felt almost off my head as I gazed from one side of the streets—all splendidly lit up—to the other, and saw the rows of such brilliant shops as I had never seen before. The Dewali illuminations in India were nothing to them. The shop-fronts were brilliant with goods, and their glass doors and windows were often ten feet long by as many feet broad. The wares were all visible from the outside, and were so beautifully arranged that they resembled a garden. They were lighted up with lamps and candelabra. The street-lamps were also extremely well lit up with gas. As I had never before seen any city so brilliant,—ay, not even the residences of Indian nobles are so,—I was completely overcome, and wondered how it all was done. In one street there were a couple of shops which were particularly brilliant, their roofs also being of glass; whilst inside were various plants and creepers, including cypress-trees in china pots—beautiful chairs all about, and many people sitting in them, some few of them women—the whole lit up with gas. I thought that there must be a marriage going on in them, and that they were on this account so well got up; but I found out afterwards that they were merely public refreshment-houses or *cafes*, and that there were great numbers of them.

How good God is, that He enables even workmen to refresh themselves in such paradises as could never have been conceived by Jamshed!

"The Hotel de Louvre is a wonderfully good one. The open space inside is oval, with a glass roof to keep out rain and snow, and is surrounded with rooms. There are seven storeys, and the whole are brilliantly lighted with gas. Our rooms were on the fifth storey, as all those below were occupied. We ascended 120 steps before reaching our rooms, which we found beautifully furnished. I felt inclined for some tea, but the servant who showed us up having left, I was at a loss how to call a servant, and as to who should go down all that distance to call one. It struck me that European hotels had electric bells, by touching which one summoned the servants. I looked about for one, when all of a sudden I saw on the wall a lovely ivory flower, and thinking this must be one, I touched it gently, and to my delight it acted. In a couple of minutes a servant appeared, and I got my tea. I was curious to know how he knew the room to come to when the bell rang; so the next morning I went to the servants' room, where I found a bell, with a board beneath it with a number of pigeon-holes in it. When the bell rang, the number of the room showed itself in one of the pigeon-holes, and then, after a minute or so, disappeared gradually. This was to enable the servant, should he have been absent when the bell rang, to have time to see the number of the room.

"Marseilles is not one of the largest cities in France, as it has only lately become populous. At present, according to the census, it has 300,131 inhabitants. The engineering firms have 7000 labourers. There are fifty-two steam soap factories, which turn out 1,680,000

maunds of soap yearly. There are twenty-eight steam oil-presses, which make 112,000 maunds of oil yearly. Fifty thousand red fezzes are made every year. There are many churches, a museum, public libraries, picture-galleries, theatres, and a zoological garden.

"We remained here Friday, the 30th of April, in order to see this lovely city by day. We hired a two-horse carriage, and went round most of it. I cannot describe its beauties, cleanliness, and the splendour of its shops. The men and women were well clad and good-looking. The museum is a splendid building, which was being added to when we saw it. I was greatly pleased with the beauty of the Zoological Garden, which is filled with curious animals. In one enclosure giraffes were walking about. During the winter they have a warm house, on the walls of which appear the Mohammedan flag and the following words in Arabic: 'Wondrous are the animals created by the Almighty.' There is an elephant also, which is the wonder of the crowd. It is of medium size, but very thin, and is shut up in a house. There is a skeleton of a huge fish, which is supported on iron posts about the height of a man. This fish is twenty-one paces long, and is well worth seeing. One of the finest of the new buildings in Marseilles is the new cathedral, which is built on a small hill, and is made of beautifully white stone. I went inside and admired the exquisite workmanship. Where the bishop preaches there is a life-size bust in marble of Mary, who is represented as having Christ in her lap. The church was thronged with visitors when I was there, and outside on the hill there were a number of shops as at a fair, many of them being coffee and drinking shops. From this hill we had a lovely view of the city, looking down upon all its

loftiest buildings. There were many conveyances driving about on the hill. The cathedral is reached by several hundred steps. I was astonished at seeing the manner in which the carriages drove up the steep and slippery roads. Going down-hill, the drag is put on the two hind-wheels, and by descending slowly there is no danger. At night we went out again to see the city, and again saw the fairy scenes of the previous night. There was a very handsome building, which the hotel commissionaire told me was a *casino* used for concerts. I went in and found it beautifully fitted up, like a garden—full of lamps and glass-work—with hundreds of chairs and tables at which people were drinking wine or coffee. Waiters were in attendance to provide anything that one might want, and the stage was beautifully got up, and was occupied by players and singers. Any one could get in for about six annas. I remained watching the performance and the people, and soon after left. Not even in fables have I ever heard what we saw that night

"On Saturday, the 30th April, we left Marseilles. We drove to the station in the same hotel omnibus which had brought us there, our baggage being put on by the servants, and were accompanied by the hotel commissionaire, who took our tickets for us and saw us off. We had not the slightest bother about our tickets, as is, alas! so often the case in India. When we left Marseilles the train carried us swiftly and smoothly through plains and fields, and past many villages—a different spectacle, with its quiet beauties, to the town of Marseilles, with its places and things made by man. The beauty, freshness, and verdure of the country, the hills and dales, the cypress-like and wide-spreading trees, verdancy and beauty which gladdened the heart, had their beauty doubled by the skill of

man. As far as the eye could see, the land was beautifully parcelled out in fields and enclosures—the former of grass, green and verdant. Canals were frequent. Red flowers were numerous in the green fields, and glittered like stars in the night. Thousands of acres were planted with vines, in the same way as thousands of acres in Fattehgarh and Meerut potatoes, or in Ghazipur roses, are grown. It was wonderful to see the hills covered on all sides from top to bottom with these vines, seeming as if they had been put on oval towers. The trees were not high, and were branching out in green twigs, which added to their beauty. I recited Sadi's lines—

> ' The earth looked as if covered with pieces of lace ;
> The grapes hung on the trees like stars in the sky.'

" On reaching Lyons, we all got out and had some refreshment in the rooms. We also bought some food and fruit, and took away two bottles of water, and enjoyed them all, with laughter and talk, when night came on. At 7.30 A.M. on the 2nd May we reached Paris, and remained there for a couple of days. Hotel commissionaires were present, as at Marseilles ; and on mentioning the Hotel Meurice, at which I wanted to stay, owing to having heard that Englishmen frequented it, and that therefore English was spoken there, the commissionaires brought up two carriages, and we drove to the hotel. The coachman asked me some questions in French, which, of course, was Greek to me; and it was just the same with him when I spoke to him in Urdu or English ! I was not much struck with the architectural beauty of Meurice's Hotel. The dining-room and appearance of the servants and their dress were nothing like those of the Marseilles hotel,

which was still vividly impressed on my mind's eye. After dinner we did not go out to look about us, as it was Sunday. We were wrong, as in Paris all the shops and public places are open on Sunday. In front of the hotel was a broad square, seemingly miles in extent, with a fine entrance, and splendid iron railings all round. Inside were canals, ponds, and fountains, life-size sculptures, beds of flowers, lovely walks, handsome trees, and lovely green grass. The whole was a mass of green. Thousands of chairs were scattered about, and the place crowded daily with well-dressed men, women, and children. Refreshments were procurable. I walked all over it, blessed my good fortune, and told the commissionaire to take me to some other beauties. He said, 'Let us go to Versailles, which is open to-day, this being the first Sunday of the month. It is well worth a visit.' We walked with him; but as I had done a lot of walking, I was tired. As I passed through streets and bazaars, however, my wonder increased, and I felt no fatigue at times. I do not know how far we walked, but saying, 'O God, O God!' we passed into the door of an enormous building. There was a great crowd, which all made for another door. The commissionaire stopped us, and said he would go and take tickets, which he did at once, and said, 'Come on.' I thought that the door we were going through led into Versailles, when I found myself in a splendid railway station, with a train ready to start! I felt quite angry, as I had been travelling the whole of the previous night on the railway, and was tired by the long walk. I cannot tell how angry I was, and how disinclined to enter the train. The stupid commissionaire had, without my permission, taken second-class tickets. There are two

classes: the first, in which you sit inside; and the second, in which you sit outside. When I found that I should have to sit outside, I was still further enraged; and when I heard that our destination was thirty miles off, I was so angry that I nearly got out of the train. Before I could do so, however, the engine whistled, and we were off! Helpless and annoyed I was; but I soon forgot all my troubles when I saw, from the elevation at which I was, the beauties of the landscape, &c. I said that the commissionaire had done very wisely in seating us on the top. I was so delighted that I was prepared to travel any distance.

"On arriving at Versailles we descended, and after going a short distance from the station, we found a locked iron gate, through which I saw houses, lovely gardens laid out with flowers, canals, ponds, and fountains. I knew then that this was the famous palace in which former kings of France used to reside, and which is still kept up as it was in olden days. It is opened on the first Sunday of every month, to afford the public an opportunity of seeing its beauties and wonders, and enjoying an outing and a share in the tastes of a king. The site of this royal palace was once a great open plain. King Louis XIII. one day was hunting, and came alone here. With difficulty he got a roof to cover him. The air of the plain pleased him greatly; so he built a hunting-box on it, buying the ground from an archbishop. In 1632 A.D. he built a small palace, the architect being the famous Lemercier. Louis XIV. commenced in 1682 another palace; and although in this year he held receptions in it, it was not quite finished. Mansard and Gabriel were the architects, and the palace remains to this day a monument of their skill. There were a number of well-

dressed people congregated at the still shut gate, and we took up our station there also. Very soon the orders came to open, and we all entered. I thought we were in some heavenly, not earthly palace. I was astounded at the lovely lakes, canals, and fountains; animals' heads from which water was spouting; the trees and shrubs exquisitely trimmed in some places, in others natural; pieces of sculpture representing men with their hands on each other's necks, with hands joined, &c.; and wondrous gardens filled with flowers. The famous canal in the Delhi Fort, which flowed from the private audience-chamber to the picture-chamber, and in whose waters I used in former days to play; the Mehtab Bagh pond, from the banks of which 360 fountains played of old; the palace and fountains of Deeg, in Bhartpore,—are undoubtedly as far inferior to those of Versailles, as an ugly is different from a handsome man. India's royal buildings differ from those of France, owing to the climate. The houses in France are well adapted to its climate. Ours in India require to be amended in order to be beautiful, to be adapted to the climate, and to be healthy. At the same time, our buildings in India are much more strongly built than those here; and there is nothing to match the lovely Taj and its minarets—that monument of grace and honour to our ancient architecture.

"After walking about the gardens we entered the palace, and were struck with the splendour and size of the rooms. I shall dilate presently on the paintings, which struck me dumb with amazement. I rubbed my eyes to see if it was not a dream, and the figures on the canvas not living ones. My heart told me they were only pictures, but on looking at them carefully I could not believe it. We saw the audience-hall of

Louis XIV., where he used to receive his grandees and courtiers ; also the room in which he put on his robes, the walls of which were covered with pictures ; and the bedroom of the same sovereign, in which, in 1715, he breathed his last. The bed on which he died is still exactly as he left it, and is a warning of the instability of this world, and calls out, as it were, with a loud voice, 'O Louis, where art thou, that thy bed is vacant?' This audience-hall is 340 feet long and broad, and 42 feet high, with seven arches, and was built by Lebrun, who was both architect and painter. In 1738, Louis XV. made it into his bedroom. Close by is a billiard-room, splendidly decorated by this monarch ; and there is a life-size picture of his daughter over the door, with one of the king opposite it, taken when he was young. Next to this picture is one taken of him when he ascended the throne. He died in this room in 1774. There is also an opera or concert room, with thirty-eight columns, which was begun in 1753 and finished in 1770, or eighteen years afterwards. There is also a chapel with sixteen columns, which was commenced by Mansard, the architect, in 1699, and was finished in 1710. Throughout the palace the paintings are simply matchless—the work of the famous Lebrun and other celebrated painters. The king's picture-gallery, containing thirteen rooms, is a splendid work of art. It contains 130 full-length pictures. There are pictures representing the victories of Napoleon the Great, the figures in them being all life-size. In the gallery called the 'Crusade,' there are pictures of all the battles fought in the Crusades. Above it is another gallery, in which are all the Algiers battle-pictures. In a huge chamber, 373 feet long, 42 feet broad, and the same height, all the various French battles are depicted.

I really cannot describe their beauties, and the lifelike fidelity with which the figures of the soldiers and of the wounded, with their bleeding wounds, are vividly drawn. It is not merely a picture-gallery, but a means of increasing the courage, boldness, and valour of the nation. There is no doubt that the sight of them by the French race must double their valour when they see thus before them the evidence of their ancestors' bravery, and of their contempt of death or wounds on the battle-field. There was only one thing which militated against French valour and civilisation ; and when I observed it, I was extremely astonished that such a brave and gallant race, elevated, as they are, bv the arts and sciences, should have been guilty of it. In the Algiers battle-picture-gallery, there is one depicting the capture of the women of Abdul Kadir's family. The women are shown on camels, with the French soldiers throwing them off. The bodies of the women are partially naked, and the French have bayonets in their hands as if they were going to kill them. Was it right or proper of the French to hang up in heir palace a picture of women being taken prisoners? Was the drawing of bayonets on helpless women, or throwing them down from the camels, worthy of being thus handed down to posterity? Was it according to French civilisation to depict naked women, even although they may have actually been so? Imam Abdul Kadir is a valiant and true soldier, and is as much honoured now as he was when he was ruler of his country. Alone and unaided, he fought for twenty years with the greatest bravery and truthfulness, with no breath of intrigue or cunning upon his name. At last he was conquered; but that does not lessen his valour or his world-known honour. The painting of

such a picture, instead of lessening that bravery and honour, increases them. Alongside this picture there is one which illustrates the generosity, the wisdom, the valour, and all the good qualities of the French nation, and particularly of the present Emperor Napoleon III. When he ascended the throne he set Imam Abdul Kadir at liberty ; and the picture shows the Emperor life-size, with Abdul Kadir beside him, and Abdul Kadir's mother in the foreground, clothed to go out. The Emperor is shaking hands with her, and giving the order for Abdul Kadir's release. This picture adds honour to Napoleon's crown, and to the honour of the French nation.

"After seeing all the wonders of Versailles, we returned by rail to Paris, and by omnibus to the hotel. Chajju was in great tribulation at our long absence, and had commenced to cry, and we found him in tears ! On asking what was the matter, he said, 'Oh, where have you been?' After dinner, we went out for a walk in the streets with the commissionaire, and the beauties of Marseilles were speedily eclipsed by those of Paris. The beauty of the buildings, the arrangements of the shops, the brilliancy of the lamps, the number of well-dressed, good-looking men and women that we saw, are quite indescribable. The light was so brilliant, that if a needle were dropped it could have been picked up. Any place that I saw was well worth looking at.

"The next day we again sallied out on foot to see the shops in Richelieu, Rivoli, St. Honoré, and other streets. After lunch, we went in a carriage and pair, and told the commissionaire that we did not want to get out anywhere, and that he was to take us round to see the sights. I cannot remember the French names of the various places we drove past—every street, every

shop, and every building was like a picture. Their cleanliness was such that not even a bit of straw was to be seen. Doubtless people will think that such praise is exaggerated, but I assure my readers it is not. Thousands—sometimes hundreds of thousands—throng the streets, which are also full of buggies, chariots, cabs, omnibuses, carts, &c., and notwithstanding this, not a trace of dirt is to be seen. Horse-refuse or other dirt was swept up immediately. We saw a sweeping-machine at work in the streets drawn by two horses, the brush being two or three yards long, and all the filth being swept into an inner and hidden receptacle in the machine. Besides this, there were numbers of men stationed to sweep the streets. There were numerous handsome gas-lamps on the streets, at short distances from each other, whilst the shop-lights were simply innumerable. There is no difference in Paris as regards light between the day and night. The police arrangements seemed admirable—well-dressed, silent, and good-looking constables being stationed every 200 yards. They looked quietly and civilly about, and seemed to say, 'We are here to look after all these people's comfort and convenience.' People who did not know their way to shops and houses applied to them, and they invariably replied most kindly and politely, and were always thanked by their questioners. I cannot describe the number of the military that I saw in Paris. Every two hours or so a detachment of troops of some branch of the service or other would pass by—well dressed, and neat and clean. I hear that the Emperor Napoleon is very fond of his army, and that his men reciprocate the feeling. The streets of Paris are extremely broad. The Chandni Chowk at Delhi, which is divided into two streets by the canal

running down its middle, is altogether—roads, canal, and all—about as broad as many of the streets here. Their beauties are indescribable. The Boulevards Sebastopol and du Temple are broader than usual, and are bordered by shady trees and seats, and are always crowded with people. The municipal arrangements are so excellent that if municipal commissioners be required in heaven, the Paris commissioners are undoubtedly the best fitted for the posts! Notre Dame Cathedral is well worth a visit. I saw it from the carriage, and it certainly is a splendid and beautiful pile. Its interior is probably still more beautiful. The Elysee Palace, which is the residence of the Emperor Napoleon, I saw from a distance. Its pillars, fountains, and lovely lakes—pictures of which I saw and wondered at in the hall of our scientific society at Allygurh—I now saw before me. The fountains play day and night, and are indescribably exquisite. Looking at them, one feels inclined never to move on. I saw a large marble gateway with the Emperor's victories carved on it. National valour, bravery, and honour are well worth being fostered. What Frenchman, on seeing them, but would not wish to behave as is depicted on these marbles?

"We drove out of the city proper, but the same splendid houses still continued. The present Emperor Napoleon built a wall, a moat, and forts round the city proper; but owing to the great increase in the population, the people overflowed into the suburbs, and there are as many inhabitants in them as in the city. After driving some miles we came upon a park, which was really a bit of heaven, miles in length, with lovely roads and flowers, and umbrageous trees trimmed so as to be all of one size, handsome iron

benches and seats, and several large lakes which looked as natural as possible, although they are artificial. Wherever we looked we saw a wide expanse of green covered with flowers. Thousands of people come here daily, the wealthy in well-appointed equipages, and the carriages are drawn up in a drive specially made for this. The people walk about. There are feeding-places for the horses, which are rubbed down and fed; carriages are cleaned; and when the owner has finished his walk, he finds a clean carriage, and sleek, well-groomed, and well-fed horses, ready for him. From seeing this assembly, and from living in French hotels, I have come to the conclusion that the French are the best-dressed and the best-fed people in the world. At one part of this park we came upon a natural lake, with the same arrangements for watering horses as just described. Close to it is a very fine building in which pedestrians can sit and call for anything to eat or drink, sit at their ease, eat and drink, pay the waiter, and leave. This house, built at a cost of lakhs of rupees, is the property of a company. When our carriage drew up at it, a splendid liveried servant came forward, bowed, opened the door, and we got down. I thanked the waiter with the only French words I knew, which I had picked up at the Marseilles hotel—viz., " S'il vous plait! " We walked round the water. In the middle of the plain there is an artificial hill in which a cavern has been excavated, and it is impossible to tell whether it is natural or the reverse. In it are cascades and a waterfall, and on the hill are large trees. There are paths up it close to the cavern, and thousands of shady trees, and chairs. I was enchanted with all that I saw, and cannot describe its beauties. We stayed there a long while, and remembered the Almighty God. Wonderful are the things made by Him.

"Not far off was a very fine race-course, which we visited, as also the grand stands, which are of wood. A pump was at work close by driven by a windmill, and attended to by a man and his wife, who lived in a small cottage near by. Their manners made me blush for those of my countrymen. Wishing to see the stand, I asked by signs his leave to walk up, and he at once—seeing that I was a traveller—most politely accompanied me and showed me everything. I thanked him, and we drove back late in the afternoon to our hotel. I hear that the Parisians call their city, not Paris, but Paradise, and I quite agree with them that it is the Paradise of this world.

'If there be a paradise on earth,
It is this, it is this, it is this.'

"In the evening we again visited the streets. shop, and on our entering, a very pretty and well-dressed young woman stood up from the chair that she was sitting on behind the counter, and by her coun-
Wishing to buy some gloves, we went into a glove-
tenance asked us what we wanted. She evidently did not know what language we talked. Some one of us said 'gloves' in English, and she began talking English like a nightingale, took the measure of our hands, brought gloves to suit us, and put them on with her own hands, talking all the time in the most polite manner. When we had been suited we asked the prices. She said, 'Do you want one pair each?, showing her hope that we would take several pairs. She then went on to praise Paris fashions, which she said were the best in the world; that Paris gloves were ditto; that we would require gloves for dinner, to meet ladies, and to be presented to the Emperor and

Empress; that she (the shopkeeper) did not want us to have any bother, and that therefore we should take several pairs of gloves—of sorts. I thanked her for her kindness, but said that I did not require them—that I was merely looking at the shops, and bought a few things here and there. This woman knew four languages—French English, Italian, and German, and knew them well, too. She had learnt them in order to be able to talk with the foreigners who might patronise her shop. I paid her, and returned through several streets of shops to our hotel.

"At midnight we again visited the shops, and bought a warm coat for Khudadad Beg at a tailor's shop, which was beautifully got up, and in which cloth of every description was numbered from one upwards. He asked me what cloth I wanted, took Khudadad Beg's measure, and told an assistant to bring a coat and trousers of such and such a number. They were brought, and Khudadad Beg was shown into a beautifully furnished room, changed his clothes, brushed his hair, and came out quite a handsome young man! At this hour the whole of the shops were still open, and everything was just as it was in the daytime—numbers of people being about, &c., &c.

"At 8 A.M. of the 4th May—a Tuesday—we left Paris and arrived by rail at Calais on the Channel, where a steamer was awaiting us. We went on board. The English Channel, though not very broad—only a two and a half or three hours' trip—has a peculiar motion, which, whenever the steamer begins to move, makes people sick. The captain of the steamer showed us into the first-class cabin, and on entering we saw a strange sight—viz., that places for lying down were ready for each passenger, with pillows and a china dish for the sea-sick alongside.

"Those ladies who had come on board before us were all lying down, and with eyes closed were trying to go to sleep, in order to cross whilst asleep. I wondered what sort of a motion it would be. We all sat down, and Khudadad, in a bragging manner, removed the basin to a distance. The vessel started, and before we had gone a hundred yards we were sick, lay down, closed our eyes, and became slightly unconscious. Soon after, Khudadad got up very alarmed, wanted to be sick, and began to search for his basin. A lady who was lying close by him, thinking that he would be sick over her, got up in a hurry, and most kindly gave him her basin. He had just got out the word 'Thank,' when he was sick, and the 'you' was never said. He then lay down again. Many of the English of both sexes were also ill, and lay down. Mahmud was sick. Hamid was not actually so, though very near it; and I was the same. Almost senseless, and calling on God, we got to the end of our sea journey. We got out at Dover, and travelling by rail we reached Charing Cross at 7 P.M. From Paris to Calais the country was not so vine-cultivated as between Marseilles and Paris. High mountains were frequent, so were tunnels, very much longer than those we passed through on the Bombay line. Pumps worked by windmills were numerous, and they are no doubt valuable and cheap, and would be well adapted for Hindustan. My agents, Messrs. Henry, King & Co., had sent Mr. Storr to meet us at the station, and to take us comfortably to our hotel. Mr. Storr met us, and took us into the Charing Cross Hotel. Thus closed our journey to London."

CHAPTER X.

LETTER FROM LONDON.

On the 15th October 1869, Syed Ahmed addressed the following letter to the Secretary of the Scientific Society at Allygurh, which appeared in Urdu in the "Allygurh Institute Gazette":—

I have received your esteemed letter of the 9th ultimo, and I regret that you should have been put out by the non-arrival of more letters from me, describing my travels. It is nearly six months since I arrived in London, and have been unable to see many things I should have liked, been able to see a good deal, and have been in the society of lords and dukes at dinners and evening parties. Artisans and the common working-man I have seen in numbers. I have visited famous and spacious mansions, museums, engineering works, shipbuilding establishments, gun-foundries, ocean-telegraph companies which connect continents, vessels of war (in one of which I walked for miles, the Great Eastern steamship), have been present at the meetings of several societies, and have dined at clubs and private houses. The result of all this is, that although I do not absolve the English in India of discourtesy, and of looking upon the natives of that country as animals and beneath contempt, I think they do so from not understanding us; and I am afraid I must confess that they are not far wrong in their opinion of us. Without flattering the English, I can truly say that the natives of India, high and low, merchants and petty shopkeepers, educated and illiterate, when contrasted with the English in education, manners, and uprightness, are as like them as a

dirty animal is to an able and handsome man. The English have reason for believing us in India to be imbecile brutes. Although my countrymen will consider this opinion of mine an extremely harsh one, and will wonder what they are deficient in, and in what the English excel, to cause me to write as I do, I maintain that they have no cause for wonder, as they are ignorant of everything here, which is really beyond imagination and conception. What I have seen and seen daily, is utterly beyond the imagination of a native of India. If any of my countrymen do not believe what I say, you may certainly put them down as frogs and fishes. There was once a living fish that fell from a fisherman into a well in which were a number of frogs. When they saw a new traveller, white in colour, and glittering like silver, they behaved very kindly to him, and asked where he came from. The fish said that he was a native of the Ganges. The frogs asked the fish if his watery country was similar to theirs; to which the fish answered in the affirmative, adding that it was a bright, good country, swept by a fine wind, which raised waves in which fishes were rocked as in a swing, and disported themselves, and that it was very broad and long. On hearing this a frog came out a foot from the side of the well, and said, "What! as long and as broad as the distance I have come from the wall?" The fish said, "Much greater." The frog came another foot out, and again put his question to the fish, which said, "Much greater." The frog went on, getting the same answer the farther he went, until he got to the opposite side of the well. Again asking his question, the fish gave the same reply. The frog said, "You lie; it cannot be larger than this." Just at this moment a man let down a bucket and drew water, thus causing small waves on the surface. The frog asked the fish if his country's waves were as large, on which the fish laughed, saying, "Those things that you have never seen, and which it is impossible for you to imagine, cannot be thought of by you without seeing. Why, therefore, do you ask about them?" I am not thinking about those things in which, owing to the specialities of our respective countries, we and the English differ. I only remark on politeness, knowledge, good faith, cleanliness, skilled workmanship,

accomplishments, and thoroughness, which are the results of education and civilisation. All good things, spiritual and worldly, which should be found in man, have been bestowed by the Almighty on Europe, and especially on England. By spiritual good things I mean that the English carry out all the details of the religion which they believe to be the true one, with a beauty and excellence which no other nation can compare with. This is entirely due to the education of the men and women, and to their being united in aspiring after this beauty and excellence. If Hindustanis can only attain to civilisation, it will probably, owing to its many excellent natural powers, become, if not the superior, at least the equal of England.

When I arrived in London, we stayed for three or four days at the Charing Cross Hotel, as I had not sufficient money to take a house and furnish it. I therefore was compelled to rent one, or rather a portion of one, in which beds, bedding, &c., are provided by the owner of the house, who is called the "landlord," his wife being called "landlady." They also provide food and servants, and the bills are sent in weekly. We found living like this extremely comfortable. From this you will conclude that those who let out a portion of their houses in London are poor; and so they are, but they are, at the same time, of respectable family. The house that I was in is owned by Mr. J. Ludlam, with his wife, the latter having two sisters, Miss Ellen West and Miss Fanny West, who often visit their sister for a couple of weeks or so at a time. Mr. Ludlam is as able as he is respectable and well educated, and is a constant attendant at night at lectures on chemistry, geology, zoology, &c. These and hundreds of other lectures are got up by the general public—people attending them paying a few pence each nightly. The incomes from this source are so large that all the expenses—including the salaries of the givers of the lectures, rent of houses, &c.—are defrayed from money taken at the doors. The people profit by them more than by the highest philosophy that has ever been taught in Hindustan. Although I have been here in this house now for six months, and have met Mr. Ludlam, occasionally speaking to him, his voice has never once reached my room. Such politeness in

thinking of those who live with him, and seeing that they are not disturbed, is politeness indeed. I only wish, from this description, to show to my fellow-countrymen a picture of the general knowledge of the people amongst whom I am at present living. Mrs. Ludlam is a very able, well-educated, accomplished, and a very good woman, and I cannot do sufficient justice to all her good qualities. Courtesy, politeness, and humanity are included in them. All her house and other work is done by her with the greatest ability, and her husband is thus at leisure to go to his office or to his lectures. Her two sisters are also well educated—one of them, Miss Ellen West, being extremely fond of reading.

I am at present engaged in writing a book on the Mohammedan religion, and have got together many English works for and against the same, as well as others which are against all religions. Some days ago Miss Ellen West became very ill, but the next day became better. Although very weak and scarcely able to leave her bed, she sent a message to me asking me to send her some of the above-mentioned works, to add, as she said, to her knowledge. I replied that I had only religious works, which were also extremely disputatious; but she asked for some nevertheless, and I therefore sent her a book. In two days she had read it, and on her getting well she gave me some excellent opinions on it. This gives rise to the reflection how good the education of women slightly below the middle-class must be here. Is it not a matter for astonishment that a woman, when ill, should read with the object of improving her mind? Have you ever seen such a custom in India in the family of any noble, nawab, raja, or man of high family? If our women in India were to frequent the bazaars with their faces, how astonished and alarmed would not their husbands be? It is undoubtedly a fact that the women here, when they hear that the women of India are unable to read or write, are ignorant of education or instruction, are equally astonished, and are displeased with and despise them. You may be certain that those Englishmen in India who meet and mix with us, and behave well to us, do so out of policy. If the two nations were together in a free country, and if the customs, ways of living,

and private life of Hindustanis and Englishmen remained as they are at present, the Englishmen would never stop to speak to them, and would look on them as equal to animals. I undoubtedly maintain that the general behaviour of Englishmen towards the natives is the reverse of polite, and that this should certainly cease; but I do not urge this point on account of the nations being entitled to politeness on the score of ability. I urge it for this reason, that Englishmen, by treating them badly, detract from their own high character, and place obstacles in the way of the spread of civilisation.

In the India Office is a book in which the races of all India are depicted both in pictures and in letterpress, giving the manners and customs of each race. Their photographs show that the pictures of the different manners and customs were taken on the spot, and the sight of them shows how savage they are—the equals of animals. The young Englishmen who, after passing the preliminary Civil Service examination, have to pass examinations on special subjects for two years afterwards, come to the India Office preparatory to starting for India, and, desirous of knowing something of the land to which they are going, also look over this work. What can they think, after perusing this book and looking at its pictures, of the power or honour of the natives of India? One day Hamid, Mahmud, and I went to the India Office, and Mahmud commenced looking at the work. A young Englishman, probably a passed civilian, came up, and after a short time asked Mahmud if he was a Hindustani? Mahmud replied in the affirmative, but blushed as he did so, and hastened to explain that he was not one of the aborigines, but that his ancestors were formerly of another country. Reflect, therefore, that until Hindustanis remove this blot they shall never be held in honour by any civilised race.

I am extremely pleased that my Bengal and Parsi brethren have begun to some extent to promote civilisation, but their pace is so fast that there is danger of their falling. The fatal shroud of complacent self-esteem is wrapt around the Mohammedan community: they remember the old tales of their ancestors, and think that there are none like themselves. The Moham-

medans of Egypt and Turkey are daily becoming more civilised. I have seen the Khedive of Egypt in England—the representative of a race which formerly was no friend to Englishmen—mixing in the most friendly manner in English society. The Sultan of Turkey is also daily becoming more friendly with the neighbouring countries and their peoples. Some time ago the Sultan came to France and London to pay them a friendly visit, and dined at the same table with their inhabitants ; and this is a powerful proof that the days of bigotry and barbarism are gone. Another proof is the fact that the Empress of France and the Emperor of Austria are going to Constantinople as the Sultan's guests, and just now great preparations are being made to receive them. The Sultan will himself go out to meet the Empress of France, and the three sovereigns will remain in friendly and brotherly friendship for the space of a week, dining and going to parties together, travelling together, and the Sultan will escort them to the "Bait-ul-Mokaddis."[1] A short time ago the Prince of Wales was the Sultan's guest, and on every one's lips was the verse, "Thy coming hath peopled the country ; speaking of thee is our song of gladness." In short, the sight of mankind growing daily in brotherly love and friendship, and the decrease of barbarism and savagery, the growth and decrease of which is nature's intention, is indescribably joyful. In Turkey and Egypt the women are daily becoming better educated. I heard of an Egyptian girl who, in addition to a thorough knowledge of her native language, Arabic, knew French very well and Latin very fairly. Her brother was educated in France ; and on his return, his sister, who had learnt Arabic from her relatives, studied French and Latin with him.

I am at present living in a comfortable house. I shall hereafter describe the houses of London. I have six rooms, four of them bedrooms—one for each of us—the others being rather larger and better furnished than mine, as Hamid, Mahmud, and Khudadad Beg sit reading and writing in them at night. In my bedroom there is only bedroom furniture—better, however, than any I have ever seen in India. Perhaps there may be better in Bombay and Calcutta. One of the other

1 Suleiman Mosque.

rooms I use for reading and writing books—we all eating and drinking also in it. The sixth room is a large one, and serves as our sitting-room, in which we all meet occasionally, and get pleasure by doing so. Visitors are received in this room. My kind landlady has taken on two servants especially for my service—one being called Anne Smith, and the other Elizabeth Matthews, the latter very young and modest, being maid-of-all-work. The first is very clever and well-educated, a good writer, and thoroughly good servant. She reads the papers and enjoys them, and does her work like a watch or machine. After dressing, I go to my study about half-past 8 A.M. daily, that and the sitting-room having by this time been cleaned by Annie Smith—chairs, tables, *almiras*, pictures, inkstand, books, &c., all being beautifully arranged. When it is cold, she lights the fire. She receives all letters and sorts them, putting those for each person on the table opposite his chair. Newspapers she puts anywhere on the table, to be read by whoever wants to. At about 9 o'clock she knocks at the door, and on being told to enter, comes in and lays the table for breakfast. Her language is clear and respectful, her manners being good and polite—she calls us all " sir " when speaking to us. Khudadad Beg she calls Mr. Beg, and on hearing that that was not his full name, said, " Sir, please pardon me, but your full name is very difficult." There was great fun over this, and we have all taken to calling Khudadad Beg " Mr. Beg." Dinner and supper are also laid out by her with the same careful attention as breakfast. It is a fact that if this woman, who is poor, and compelled to work as a maid-servant in attendance night and day upon me, were to go to India and mix with ladies of the higher classes, she would look upon them as mere animals, and regard them with contempt. This is simply the effect of education. Look at this young girl Elizabeth Matthews, who, in spite of her poverty, invariably buys a half-penny paper called the " Echo," and reads it when at leisure. If she comes across a " Punch," in which there are pictures of women's manners and customs, she looks at them, and enjoys the editor's remarks thereon. All the shops have the names of their occupants written in front in splendid golden letters, and

servants requiring anything have only to read and enter. Cabmen and coachmen keep a paper or a book under their seats, and after finding a job, they take them out and commence reading. Remember that the rank of a cabman corresponds to that of the *ekhawallas*† of Benares.

Until the education of the masses is pushed on as it is here, it is impossible for a native to become civilised and honoured.

**The cause of England's civilisation is that all the arts and sciences are in the language of the country. Although in some parts of England the dialects are such as to make it difficult to understand their English, still, on the whole, English in England corresponds to the Urdu of the North-West Provinces and Behar, which every one understands. Those who are really bent on improving and bettering India must remember that the only way of compassing this is by having the whole of the arts and sciences translated into their own language.*
I should like to have this written in gigantic letters on the Himalayas, for the remembrance of future generations. If they be not translated, India can never be civilised. This is truth, this is the truth, this is the truth! Government has a difficult task. When the governing tongue is not that of the country, the people do not care to study their own language, because up to the present no one studies for the sake of science, but only to get service. O well-wishers of Hindustan, do not place your dependence on any one! Spread abroad, relying on yourselves and your subscriptions, translations of the arts and sciences; and when you have mastered these and attained to civilisation, you will think very little of going into Government service. I hope and trust that such a day may soon come.

I am delighted to hear that the Lieutenant-Governor, North-West Provinces, and the Director of Public Instruction, North-West Provinces, have given our Society great assistance; and I have thanked God for it. But, my dear Raja, do not part with the freedom of your Society and its paper. The life and death of India depend on the goodness or otherwise of the Department of Public Instruction. Always reflect on this deeply, but with a just mind, and make truth and the national welfare "your only friends."

† Drivers of native vehicles * The italics are our own.—AUTHOR.

CHAPTER XI.

RETURN TO INDIA — MISUNDERSTANDING WITH SIR WILLIAM MUIR — SOCIAL REFORMS — MOHAMMEDAN OPPOSITION.

Towards the end of 1870 Syed Ahmed returned from England, and resumed his duties of Native Judge at Benares. I was also there as District Superintendent of Police, and was very glad to be for the second time in the same station with him. His trip to England had added largely to his knowledge of men and things, and had also deepened his determination to do all in his power towards improving the feeling between the ruler and the governed, and breaking down the social wall that stood between them. Curiously enough, however, his return to this country was signalised by a coolness on his part, which he afterwards deeply regretted, with one of his best and most influential friends, Sir William Muir, then Lieutenant-Governor of these Provinces. Whilst in England, as I have before noted, Syed Ahmed wrote some strictures on the Government educational policy, and amongst other things wrote that he had once found a cow tied up in a village schoolhouse. Sir W. Muir, on the 7th February 1870, delivered a speech when opening a school at Allygurh, in which he said: "In a pamphlet on Educational Progress in India, written and published in England,

he tells a story of having visited a village schoolhouse and found a cow tied up in it; and hence he draws disparaging conclusions regarding the education imparted in the village schools. I can only say that in marching through the district I have had ample means of satisfying myself that the education acquired at these village schools is generally good, and bears marks of labour and industry altogether inconsistent with Syed Ahmed Khan's conclusions." On this reaching Syed Ahmed in England, he found that the Urdu version of Sir William Muir's speech distinctly accused him of a want of veracity, and this he felt deeply. He referred the matter to a friend and myself. His friend wrote: "I find nothing to object to in the English transcript, but the Urdu text certainly does not accord with the tenor of the English original, and is decidedly offensive in the terms employed, which, under the most subdued interpretation, attributes to you a want of veracity. As I know how utterly incapable you are of any such perversion of truth, and feeling that the Urdu is the version which is to appeal to the understandings of your fellow-countrymen, I should counsel you to write frankly to Sir William Muir, asking him to correct the text in any way he thinks best, as I am confident that he would be the last man to inflict an undeserved wrong, or to hesitate to undo that wrong when pointed out to him." I also advised him to the same effect; but he procrastinated, and eventually went out to India without doing so. He did not also go and see the Lieutenant-Governor *en route* to Benares, nor did he write to him. In November he received the following letter from the Lieutenant-Governor's Private Secretary, Captain Lillingstone, who was afterwards killed by falling over a precipice in the hills :—

5th November 1870.

MY DEAR SIR,—The Lieutenant-Governor desires me to say that he was glad to hear, from Raja Jykishen Dass at Allygurh, of your safe return to India with one of your sons.

His Honour has been looking for an account from you of your other son's progress, he being the Lieutenant-Governor's nominee for the North-West Provinces Scholarship.

Sir William Muir will hope to hear about him and about your own welfare.—Yours truly,

W. S. LILLINGSTON.

To this Syed Ahmed replied :—

MY DEAR SIR,—I thank you, as also his Honour, for your kind letter of the 5th instant, received yesterday. I should have written to his Honour the Lieutenant-Governor ere this, had it not been that I thought his Honour would not care to hear from me, and this for the following reason. In his Honour's speech of the 7th February 1870, delivered at the Allygurh school, and which I received with feelings of the deepest regret when in England, his Honour, in the Urdu version, accused me of a direct falsehood. Admiring and esteeming his Honour as I do, I was deeply grieved when I read the words that were to brand me as one so low in the eyes of all my fellow-countrymen. I thought it must have been a mistake of the translator's; but whether it was so or not, the fact remained that I was by the Lieutenant-Governor, North-West Provinces, deemed capable of telling an untruth.

To show that this was not only my opinion, I beg to forward herewith a letter received by me on the subject from Mr. Edward Thomas, formerly in the Civil Service in this Presidency. I frankly admit that had I taken his advice, the matter might have been cleared up; and I now hope that his Honour will accept of this letter as one which I ought to have written long ago from England.

I have now the pleasure to inform his Honour as to Mahmud's opinions since arriving in England—viz., as to the society in which he moves, what his studies have embraced there, and as to the expenses to which he has been put. . . .

As to the studies on which he has been engaged, the most prominent are law—under the barrister, Mr. Pearson, Q.C.—Latin and Greek, and English history and literature, all of which he studied privately for one year prior to his entrance into Christ College, Cambridge. He is now a member of Lincoln's Inn, preparatory to becoming a barrister; and as he runs up from Cambridge to London to attend lectures and eat his dinners, I look forward to his being a barrister-at-law in two years at most. . . .

I trust that when his Honour meets my son, he will find that his kind selection of him for the first North-West scholarship will reflect honour upon his choice.

I am deeply grateful for his Honour's kindness, and with the expression of my sincere thanks to him for all that he has done for me, I beg to remain, my dear sir, yours faithfully, SYED AHMED.

BENARES, *7th November* 1870.

Sir William Muir's answer was as follows :—

GOVERNMENT HOUSE,
ALLAHABAD, *9th November* 1870.

MY DEAR SYED AHMED,—Your letter of the 7th instant has surprised and vexed me more than I can well say. It is hardly necessary for me to say that I should never have dreamt of imputing to you anything approaching to a misstatement of facts. I differed, and still differ, as to the inferences drawn by you therefrom; but that implies no disparagement whatever of yourself.

I extremely regret that you did not at once write to me direct; and I am pained that you did not, for it implies less trust and confidence in me than I had expected (and perhaps had a right to expect) in you towards myself.

Mr. Bramly brought the circumstance to my notice of the meaning that the Urdu terms were thought capable of bearing, and I wrote a note to signify that no such meaning could for a moment have been contemplated by me; and I gave permission for any use to be made of my writing. No further notice having been taken of the matter, I fancied that the explanation was

sufficient, and that it was not thought necessary to publish it in the "Gazette."

Captain Lillingston will write to you further on the subject after the above correspondence has been referred to.

Meanwhile I will only say I am very glad to hear so good an account of your son, and that I shall be glad to see you when you are again in these parts,—or if not, then when my camp reaches Benares.—I am, yours very truly, W. MUIR.

Syed Ahmed then wrote :—

MY DEAR SIR WILLIAM MUIR,—I cannot tell you what a load your most kind and most gratifying letter of the 9th instant has taken off my mind. I thank you most heartily for having condescended to reply to my letter so soon, and I shall take the first opportunity of waiting on you at Allahabad in order personally to express my thanks and my feelings of esteem for you. I see now how wrong I was in not writing to you long ere this, and I have to ask your pardon for not having done so. I hope you will excuse my writing to you as to a friend, and not as to the Lieutenant-Governor of the North-West Provinces. My apology, I feel, is due to you as the former.—With the expression of my deep feelings of esteem and gratitude, I beg to remain, yours most sincerely and respectfully, SYED AHMED.

Syed Ahmed, although he had permission to publish Sir W. Muir's letter—and most native gentlemen would have done so at once—put it quietly away, and it was only after a long search that I lately unearthed it.

Soon after his return from England, Syed Ahmed started a paper called the "Mohammedan Social Reformer," and wrote a series of articles combating the religious prejudices of his fellow-coutrymen against the acquisition of modern science and art. "He saw the weakness that had crept over Mohammedans through their estrangement from the thoughts and aspirations of the nineteenth century, and he pro-

posed to himself the great task of making Mohammedans change, not their dogmas, but their policy, so that independence of mind and political liberation should no longer be accounted as symptoms of heterodoxy." These articles, which were continued for nine years, effected a wonderfully wholesome change in Mohammedan ideas throughout India, brought them more in accord with their rulers; and his services in this direction are politically more valuable than his personal services during the Mutiny. The opposition which he met with was brought out very clearly and forcibly in an able article written in 1878 by Mr. John Macdonald in "Pillars of the Empire." The priests at Mecca denounced him as a renegade, as a "lieutenant of the Evil One," and hoped that "God would destroy him," and "that he would be severely chastised." One of them wrote that "he should be brought to his senses by beating, imprisonment, and the like!" Many Mohammedans actually believed that Syed Ahmed was the Antichrist, and debates were held as to whether he were the real one or one of the lesser ones!

At the great horse and cattle fair held at Batesir, in the Agra district, last November, I met a very intelligent Mohammedan, who had resigned a lucrative post to become a Mohammedan missionary. In the course of a conversation with him, I happened to mention Syed Ahmed's name, and he at once burst out with, "That man is an atheist; he has done more harm than any one else to our religion, and I look upon his tenets with abhorrence!" On my telling him that I was Syed Ahmed's most intimate friend, and that I thought he was very much mistaken about his being an atheist, he seemed rather astonished, and after some further conversation took his leave, evidently quite convinced

that his theory was right! When the Mohammedan A.O. College was being started, a Mohammedan wrote to Mecca asking the priests as to their opinion on Syed Ahmed's proposed college. He said—" What is your opinion (may your Excellence continue) regarding the legality of an institution established by a man who does not believe in the existence of an Evil One; who denies the bodily night-journey of the Prophet to heaven; who does not believe the story of Adam; who exhorts Mohammedans to follow English example ; who maintains that all the religious learning in Mohammedan libraries is of no avail; and that it is necessary to have a college to teach modern philosophy? When the Mohammedans, feeling indignant, told him that his institution was a school to teach atheism and spread irreligion, and denied him any assistance, he wrote to them, saying, " I will not renounce my beliefs, nor will I cease inviting you to my assistance, but I promise to place the management of the institution in the hands of a committee." Now the committee so promised consists chiefly of men of his own persuasion, who often change their opinions, and their successors rescind the arrangements of their predecessors. Now, under the divine promise of reward in the next world, let me know whether it is religiously lawful for Mohammedans to aid this college or not." One priest wrote—" In this case no assistance is allowable to the institution. May God destroy it and its founder. No Mohammedan is allowed to give assistance to or countenance the establishment of such an institution. It is, moreover, the duty of the faithful to destroy it if it be established, and to chastise to the utmost those who are friendly to it."

After these *fatwas* were fulminated against Syed

Ahmed by the learned doctors of Mecca, he received numerous anonymous letters, in which the writers said they had sworn on the Koran to take his life. One of them said that "Shere Ali, who assassinated Lord Mayo, was an idiot for doing so, as he could have ensured Paradise for himself by killing Syed Ahmed!" Was my friend moved by all these Mecca ecclesiastical thunders or the threats of unknown writers? Not in the least. He did not even get a policeman to look after him; he did not even give intimation of the possible fate in store for him to the head of the police in the station. He worked quietly on, quite prepared to suffer even a painful death in the execution of his set purpose.

CHAPTER XII.

REPLY TO DR. W. W. HUNTER'S "INDIAN MUSSULMANS" —WAHABIISM—THE FRONTIER FANATICS.

In 1872, Syed Ahmed had once more to wield the pen in defence of Mohammedans, as they had been attacked and held up to public opinion by the Hon. W. W. Hunter as disloyal to our rule. Dr. Hunter's work was entitled, "Our Indian Mussulmans: Are they bound in conscience to rebel against the Queen?" The following extracts from the Syed's "Review" of this work are interesting :—

The attention of the public has been lately turned to the state of Mohammedan feeling in India, owing to three causes—viz., the Wahabi trials, Dr. Hunter's book on the "Indian Mussulmans," and the murder of the late lamented Chief-Justice Norman. Dr. Hunter's work has made a great sensation in India, and has been read with avidity by all classes of the community. I am aware that many of the ruling race in India are under the impression that English literature, both books and newspapers, seldom, if ever, permeates the strata of native society. As regards general literature, this impression is correct as far as the millions are concerned; but on particular subjects, such as the state of feeling of the English to the natives, religious questions, or matters affecting taxation, it is a mistaken one.

Natives anxiously con all articles bearing upon the feelings with which their rulers regard them. Articles

sneering at them, or misrepresenting their thoughts and feelings, sink deep into their soul, and work much harm. Although all cannot read, they manage to hear the contents of this and that article or work from those who can, and the subject usually receives a good deal of embellishment as it is passed from one to the other. Articles or books on religious and fiscal questions are also eagerly commented on by a large proportion of the population.

What books and newspapers enunciate is, by the general native public, believed to be the opinion of the whole English community, official or non-official—from the veriest clerk to the Governor-General in Council—ay, even to the Queen herself! Such being the case, writers should be careful of their facts when treating of any important subject, and having got their facts, ought to avoid all exaggeration of misrepresentation. Now, when we find an official, high in office and in favour with Government, giving utterance to assertions and assumptions such as those contained in Dr. Hunter's work, it is but natural that we Mohammedans should come to the conclusion that the author's opinions are shared in more or less by the whole English community. I perfectly admit the kindly feeling towards Mohammedans which pervades the whole book. As a cosmopolitan Mohammedan of India, I must raise my voice in opposition to Dr. Hunter in defence of my fellow-countrymen.

Dr. Hunter's work represents Wahabiism and rebellion against the British Government as synonymous. Wahabiism has withal been little understood by the world at large, and it is rather difficult to put it in a comprehensive light before the public. In my opinion, what the Protestant is to Roman Catholic, so is the Wahabi to the other Mohammedan creeds. A work on Wahabiism was translated into English, and published in the 13th volume of the "Royal Asiatic Journal" in 1852. In it the doctrines of the faith are pretty accurately defined, and Dr. Hunter has reduced them to the following seven doctrines: "First, absolute reliance upon one God; second, absolute renunciation of any mediatory agent between man and his Maker, including the rejection of the prayers of the saints, and even of the semi-divine mediation of

Mohammed himself; third, the right of private interpretation of the Mohammedan Scriptures, and the rejection of all priestly glosses of the Holy Writ; fourth, absolute rejection of all the forms, ceremonies, and outward observances with which the medieval and modern Mohammedans have overlaid the pure faith; fifth, constant looking for the Prophet (Imam), who will lead the true believers to victory over the infidels; sixth, constant recognition, both in theory and practice, of the obligation to wage war upon all infidels; seventh, implicit obedience to the spiritual guide."

Now there are several errors here. The latter part of the second doctrine is so ambiguously worded that the meaning does not stand out very clear: it ought to stand thus—"And to recognise Mohammed as nothing more than an inspired man, and to disbelieve in any power of mediation by saints or prophets, including Mohammed himself, before the holy tribunal." The third doctrine is also ambiguous, and I would amend it thus—"Right of every individual to interpret the Koran according to his lights, and not to be bound to follow implicitly the interpretation put upon the same by any former priest." The fifth doctrine is quite obscure, and its true meaning is much altered. It bears a great affinity to the belief of the Jews and Christians—in the advent of the Messiah of the former, and of the second coming of Christ of the latter. Mohammedans believe that before the end of the world, and before the second advent of Christ, an Imam will descend on the earth to lead true believers to victory over the infidels. Many Mohammedans disbelieve in this, and regard it as a story invented by the Jews which has crept into their religion. The sixth doctrine has also suffered at the author's hands. Had he added the words—"provided that the Mussulmans leading the *jihad* be not the subjects of those infidels, living under them in peace, and without any oppression being exercised towards them—provided that they have not left their property and families under the protection of such infidels—provided that there exists no treaty between them and the infidels—and provided that the Mussulmans be powerful enough to be certain of success,"—had, I say, all these provisions been added by the author, his rendering of this doctrine would have been

correct. His object, however, being to present the Wahabi doctrines in their most terrifying form, he wisely omitted all these provisions. I do not understand what the author means by the words "spiritual guide" in the seventh doctrine. If by it he implies a guide of faith, he is in error, as by the third doctrine Wahabis are not bound to follow any priest blindly. If, however, he means a Mohammedan ruler, he is right. One thing, however, he has omitted to tell us—viz., that Mohammedans are bound to obey an infidel ruler as long as he does not interfere with their religion. I would particularly urge on my readers to bear these doctrines in mind as now interpreted by me—Dr. Hunter's rendering of them being ambiguous and calculated to mislead.

Syed Ahmed then goes on to show that Wahabiism is a system which reduces the religion of Mohammed to a pure theism—*i.e.*, to what Mohammedanism was in the days of Mohammed, before it was encrusted with its present forms and ceremonies by mediœval and modern Mohammedans. In the second century of the Hegira it was divided into four Churches—Hanafi, Shafai, Malki, and Humbali ; and it was for some time after optional for Mohammedans to follow any doctrine of any of these four Churches. The kings Bani Umanja and Bani Abboo, however, issued an edict that all Mohammedans were to embrace the whole doctrines of any one Church of the above four ; and by this unjust order, free opinion was summarily suppressed, and religious intolerance gained supremacy. A few, however, clung to the former, the true faith, and they were called Ahal-i-Hadis—*i.e.*, believers in the sayings of the Prophet. They were hated and held up to the execration of the faithful, and this continued till the beginning of the seventeenth century A.D. Abdul Wahab of Nejd then ascended a throne of his own making, and spread the doctrine of the Shah-i-Hadis.

His successor being denied leave to perform the pilgrimage to Mecca, marched on and conquered both Mecca and Medina, abolished all the forms and ceremonies with which pure Mohammedanism had become encumbered, and destroyed the tombs of saints which were worshipped as idols. He was defeated by the Turks, and compelled to retire ; and the Mohammedan world being deeply grieved at the—in their opinion—sacrileges perpetrated by the Ahal-i-Hadis, a bitter enmity sprang up between the Turks and them, and they were then called Wahabis. In India, Wahabis could only worship and preach with great danger to themselves ; but on the advent of the English rule they came to the front and preached openly and fearlessly. The Indian Mohammedans, however, hated them as cordially as the Turks did, and also called them Wahabis.

Such [says Syed Ahmed] is the history of Wahabiism, the bugbear of Dr. Hunter. . . .

The mountain tribes on our north-west frontier are Sunis. They belong to the Hanafi sect, and are stricter in the observance of their religion than their co-religionists of the plains. The latter bear no enmity towards the other three Mohammedan sects ; whilst the hostility of the mountain tribes to all other sects is bitter in the extreme. An outsider has no security for his life or property whilst in their country. These wild denizens of the hills generally take, as their text-books, commentaries on the Hanafi Church, of which Dur-i-Mukhtar is one. This was written in the year 1071 Hegira, or A.D. 1660, and is the religious work most venerated by them. It contains some Arabic verses upholding the Hanafi doctrines in preference to all others. A translation of one of these, showing the hatred borne by the Hanafis to the followers of the other Churches, is as follows : "May the curses of our God, innumerable as the sands of the sea, fall upon him who followeth not the doctrines of Abu-Hanifa."

These hill tribes lay great stress upon the worship of tombs and saints and monasteries, especially those of Peer Baba in Bonair, and Kaka Sahib in Kotah. I have never yet met any Pathan of any other faith than the Hanafi, or any inclined to Wahabiism. In the Hayat Afgani, however—an Urdu history published at Lahore in 1867, and written by a loyal Mohammedan in the service of Government—I find the following passage: "But of late the followers of Mulla Syed Meer of Kotah are looked upon as Wahabis, and are held in contempt by the people of Swat, subjects of the Akhoond of Swat and stanch Hanafis. Most of the Atmanzais and the descendants of Nasir-ul-lab of Garhi Ismail are the partisans of Mulla Syed Meer, whilst all the other mountain tribes follow the Akhoond of Swat." From the foregoing it is evident how utterly antagonistic Wahabiism is to the faith of the frontier tribes, and, as far as religion is concerned, how impracticable it is to form a coalition between the Pathans and the Wahabis. The latter, who in 1824 settled themselves in the hills, determined to wage war to the death against the hated Sikhs, could never persuade the hill tribes to look with favour on their religious tenets. Hating each other as they did, however, they, smarting under the oppressions and severities of the Sikhs, made common cause against them. It was these very Pathans, however, who betrayed the Wahabis to the Sikhs, and it was owing to them that Syed Ahmed and Moulavi Ismail Saheb were afterwards slain. These facts must be borne in mind, as they are absolutely necessary to a proper understanding of the Wahabi history, represented by Dr. Hunter as a great coalition of the mountain tribes.

The first period of the Wahabi history was its golden age. Everything that the Wahabis of that age did was known to Government, and they were not at that time in any way suspected of disloyalty to the British. Mohammedans at that time openly preached a holy war against the Sikhs, in order to relieve their fellow-countrymen from the tyranny of that race. The leader of the *jihadis* was Syed Ahmed, but he was no preacher. Moulavi Ismail was the man whose preaching worked marvels on the feelings of Mohammedans. Throughout the whole of his career, not a word was uttered by

this preacher calculated to incite the feelings of his co-religionists against the English. Once at Calcutta, whilst preaching the *jihad* against the Sikhs, he was interrogated as to his reasons for not proclaiming a religious war against the British, who were also infidels. In reply, he said that under the English rule Mohammedans were not persecuted, and as they were the subjects of that Government, they were bound by their religion not to join in a *jihad* against it. At this time thousands of armed men and large stores of munitions of war were collected in India for the *jihad* against the Sikhs. Commissioners and magistrates were aware of this, and they reported the facts to the Government. They were directed not to interfere, as the Government was of opinion that their object was not inimical to the British. In 1824 these *jihadis* against the Sikhs reached the frontier.

During the second period the Wahabi cause waned. When Peshawur again fell into the hands of the Sikhs, numbers of the learned men amongst the followers of Syed Ahmed and Moulavi Ismail lost heart completely. It may interest my readers to learn that Mahbub Ali was in 1857 summoned by the rebel leader, Bukht Khan, and requested to sign the proclamation for a religious war against the English. He refused, and told Bukht Khan that the Mohammedan subjects of the British Government could not, according to the precepts of their religion, rise up in arms against their rulers. He, moreover, reproached him and his followers for the inhuman cruelties perpetrated by them towards the European ladies and children.

Dr. Hunter maintains (page 79) that "about thirty years ago one of the Caliphs came on a missionary tour to Bengal, settled there, became trusted by all the neighbouring landed proprietors, and preached *rebellion* with great force and unction." He also, says our author, "forwarded yearly supplies of men and money to the propaganda at Patna, for transmission to the frontier camp." Now this brings us back to the year 1841 or so, when several years had still to elapse before the Panjab was annexed by the British. Does Dr. Hunter really believe that men and money were forwarded at that time to enable the frontier people to attack the English? I think he will

admit that a holy war against the Sikhs had been going on for many years before the year 1841, and that it is but probable that the "men and money supplies" were intended for the defeat of the subjects of the Panjab rulers. In the fourth period also there is no foundation for any suspicion whatever against my co-religionists in India. After the return to India of Moulavis Inayat Ali and Wilayat Ali in 1847, there still remained a small remnant of Syed Ahmed's followers on the frontier. It is true that these two never slackened their efforts to induce men of Patna and the vicinity to join in the *jihad*, and to collect money for the purpose. They were indefatigable, and in 1851 they showed what was still their leading idea by again leaving India for the frontier. Now Dr. Hunter has made out that it was with the intention of waging war with the British that they again resorted to the frontier, and that they thus transferred the *jihad* from the Sikhs to the British. Was this likely when they had no cause of complaint against the latter? We have already seen, in the oppression of the Mohammedans by the Sikhs, what reason the former had for attacking the latter; but no reason has yet been shown, either by Dr. Hunter or by any one else, for this sudden hatred to the British. No; it was against the Sikhs in Jammoo that their arms were directed. I have this from one who met these two Moulavis on their way to the frontier, and I have no doubt of its truth. It must be borne in mind how very strict in their religion these Wahabis are, Stern fanatics, they never swerve aside from the principles of that faith. Now those of whom I am writing had left their families and property in the care of the British Government, and their faith expressly forbids them taking up arms against the protectors of their families. Had they fought and died in battle against the English, they would have been deprived of the joys of Paradise and martyrdom, and would have been deemed sinners against their own religion.

The fifth period of Indian Wahabiism has also no connection whatever with *jihad*. I cannot believe that after the death of Wilayat Ali and Inayat Ali, men or money were forwarded to the frontier from Bengal in furtherance of a religious war. Since 1857, however, a band of desperate men, composed of mutineers and

others—who, through the severe punishments meted out during the Mutiny, fled for their lives to those remote tracts—have taken up their abode at Mulka, Sittana, in the Nepal Terai, and in the deserts of Bikaneer and Rajputana. Those who fled to the North-West frontier were Hindus of all castes, as well as Mohammedans of different denominations; and they instinctively collected together, fleeing, as they were, from a common danger. It was they, as mentioned above, who occupied Mulka and other places; and to assert, as Dr Hunter does, that they were there for the purpose of making a religious war against Government—composed, as their band was, of Hindus and Mussulmans of all castes and denominations—is too absurd for belief. Now every Mohammedan is bound, according to the precepts of his faith, to set apart at the end of each year, for the purpose of charity, one-fortieth part of his capital. This is termed *zakat*. Many, of course, do not act up to their religion, and decline to put their hands into their pockets to benefit others; but all good Wahabis, and also all Mohammedans who have Wahabi proclivities, discharge this duty faithfully. The money thus set apart is paid by them to the poor of the neighbourhood, to travellers passing through their towns and villages, to Moulvis famed for their learning, to convents where pious men live in retirement, and to pupils residing in mosques, for their education. In distributing these alms, they can scarcely be required to find out all the recipient's antecedents; and so frightened have Mohammedans now become of being accused of aiding and abetting sedition, that in many cases men have abstained altogether from assisting travellers or any one else. Apparently no Mohammedan can now dispense his *zakat* without laying himself open to the charge of aiding a *jihad* against the English. I think I have proved that the Indian Wahabi *jihad*—represented by Dr. Hunter to have been one against the British—was intended solely for the conquest of the Sikhs; and that, even although the band of mutineers at Mulka and Sittana may have given trouble to Government after 1857, the frontier colony, composed as it was of Hindus as well as Mohammedans, was scarcely one which could be designated as a *jihadi* community. On open-

ing Dr. Hunter's book, in the very first page occurs the following sentence: "For years a rebel colony has threatened our frontier, from time to time sending forth fanatic swarms, who have attacked our camps, burned our villages, murdered our subjects, and involved our troops in three costly wars." This is very pretty writing, enriched as the sentence is by the phrases "rebel colony" and "fanatic swarms;" but the unprejudiced reader will at once ask, "To whom does the author refer?" If he refers to the Wahabis who settled there to wage *jihad* against the Sikhs, I have shown how unfounded such an assertion would be; and if he means the band of mutineers—Hindus and Mohammedans—who fled from Hindustan during the Mutiny, what earthly connection have their raids with Dr. Hunter's question, "Our Indian Mussulmans: Are they bound in conscience to rebel against the Queen?"

Further, he says: "Successive State trials prove that a network of conspiracy has spread itself over our provinces, and that the bleak mountains which rise beyond the Panjab are united by an unbroken chain of treason-depots with the tropical swamps through which the Ganges merges into the sea. They disclose an organisation which systematically levies money and men in the Delta, and forwards them by regular stages along our high-roads to the rebel camp two thousand miles off. Men of keen intelligence and ample fortune have embarked in the plot, and a skilful system of remittances has reduced one of the most perilous enterprises of treason to a safe operation of banking." This, taken in conjunction with his opening sentence, leads the reader to believe that this conspiracy was hatched by the Bengal Mohammedans with the more or less open concurrence of the whole Mohammedan community, with the object of subverting the English rule in India. Now I think Dr. Hunter will allow that an organisation can exist for other purposes than that of rebellion; and I think both Dr. Hunter and myself have shown that an organisation existed in India for the purpose of attacking the Sikhs. It is most unfair of him to insinuate that the organisation in question was one inimical to our Indian Government, and thus to prejudice the minds of his readers against the whole of the Indian Mussulmans.

The causes which led to the Mohammedan deliberation and discussion were not those which Dr. Hunter asserts them to have been. The followers of Islam in India required no fresh teaching of the doctrines and obligations enjoined on them by their religion. But when they found that matters were taking a serious turn—that their tenets were being perverted, and that accusations of disloyalty, and statements of the obligation of Mohammedans to be disloyal, were becoming more and more frequent—they deemed it necessary to issue the *fatwas* alluded to. These are of no modern date. They have been in existence for hundreds of years, and have always been relied upon by Mussulmans. Dr. Hunter has, throughout his work, relied upon very weak authorities when treating of Mohammedan creeds. He has shown little discretion in not sifting more carefully the chaff from the wheat. During and after 1857, the Sittana colony became the rendezvous of the sepoys and others, Hindus and Mohammedans, who were expelled from India during the Mutiny. From 1850 to 1857 not a single collision occurred between Dr Hunter's "fanatics" and the British troops. After 1857, however, the collisions are frequent. What is the inference to be drawn from this? I think there can be but one—viz., that it was the Company's mutinous sepoys who were the instigators and actors in much that occurred since that year. The Wahabis—*i.e.*, the remnants of Syed Ahmed's band—had no hand in the raids; nor is there the slightest foundation for Dr. Hunter's sweeping assertion, that the flames then kindled were nursed by the Mohammedan community in India. The border tribes had also a great deal to do with the many raids and cases of kidnapping, burning and plundering of British villages; but to lay all these atrocities at the door of Syed Ahmed's followers, and through them to implicate the whole of the Indian Mussulmans, is monstrous in the extreme.

As regards the opposition made by the hill clans in the Ambeyla campaign, I have only to remark—and this is borne out by British officers themselves on the spot—that they were not influenced by any love for the Mulka host, but were justly incensed at the invasion of their territories without their permission. Had they

had notice of our intention of advancing by the Ambeyla Pass, they would almost all have been on the side of the British. No intimation, however, of our plans was given them, and the suspicion engendered in their minds by such conduct made them range themselves on the side of the Sittana colonists. Had the British been in the place of the border tribes, would they not have done likewise?

Syed Ahmed then goes on to prove, book by book, Dr. Hunter's many errors. The best knock-down blow which the unlucky Doctor received was with reference to the "Asar-i-Mahsar," a work written by Moulvi Mahomed Ali. Syed Ahmed says:—

With reference to this work our author says: "It foretells a war in the *Khyber hills on the Punjab frontier*, where the English will first vanquish the faithful, whereupon the Mohammedans will make search for their true Imam. Then there will be a battle lasting four days, ending in the complete overthrow of the English, 'even the very smell of Government being driven out of their heads and brains.' Thereafter the Imam Mahdi will appear, and the Mohammedans, being now the rulers of India, will flock to meet him at Mecca. These events will be heralded in by an eclipse both of the sun and moon in the month of Ramzan." Now I frankly confess that I am at a loss what to think of Dr. Hunter. I can scarcely believe that he intended to deceive or mislead his readers; but at the same time, I can hardly credit him with such gross ignorance as is here evinced. Either one or the other supposition is the correct one, so that Dr. Hunter stands convicted either of intentionally misleading the public, or of "ignorance profound." Bear in mind the fact that the "Khyber hills on our Panjab frontier" of Dr Hunter are hills of the same name situated near Medina!

Dr. Hunter is not apparently aware of the existence of many earnest Wahabis, as also men who, though no Wahabis, have Wahabi tendencies, who are desirous that as the Wahabi faith is pure as regards God, so it may be as regards men; that mutual love may reign throughout the earth; and that as their faith inculcates

the unity of God, it may also be the means of promoting brotherhood amongst the human race. That there are such men, and that their example will be powerful for good, is undoubted. Having admitted, then, that there are certain Wahabis whose faults are great, and whose ways are opposed to the ordinances of God and his Prophet, I cannot admit that Dr. Hunter's assertion, that the reformation of the Mussulman faith is inseparably linked with hatred against the infidel conquerors, is in the slightest degree correct. I am perfectly certain in my own mind that the purification of our faith, and our loyalty to the Government under whom we live and serve, are perfectly compatible.

Towards the end of the third chapter, Dr. Hunter says that he has no hope of enthusiastic loyalty and friendship from the Mohammedans of India; the utmost he can expect from them is a cold acquiescence in British rule. If the author is so hopeless on account of our faith being that of Islam, let me commend to his attention the 85th verse, chapter v., of the Holy Koran (George Sale's translation): "Thou shalt surely find the most violent of all men in enmity against the true believers to be the Jews and the idolaters: and thou shalt surely find those among them to be the most inclinable to entertain friendship for true believers who say we are Christians. This cometh to pass because there are priests and monks among them, and because they are not elated with pride." Like begets like; and if cold acquiescence is all that Mohammedans receive at the hands of the ruling race, Dr. Hunter must not be surprised at the cold acquiescence of the Mohammedan community. Let us both—Christians and Mohammedans—remember and act up to the words of Jesus Christ: "Therefore all things whatsoever ye would that men should do to you, do you even so to them: *for this is the law and the prophets*" (Matt. vii. 12). . . .

It is evident that as long as Mussulmans can preach the unity of God in perfect peace, no Mussulman can, according to his religion, wage war against the rulers of that country, of whatever creed they be. Next to the Holy Koran, the most authoritative and favourite works of the Wahabis are "Bokhari" and "Muslim," and both of them say: "When our Prophet,

Mohammed, marched against any infidel people to wage holy war upon them, he stopped the commencement of hostilities till morning, in order to find out whether the *azan* (call for prayer) was being called in the adjacent country. If so, he never fought with its inhabitants." His motive for this was, that from hearing the *azan*, he (the Prophet) could at once ascertain whether the Moslems of the place could discharge their religious duties and ceremonies openly and without molestation. Now we Mohammedans of India live in this country with every sort of religious liberty ; we discharge the duties of our faith with perfect freedom ; we read our *azans* as loud as we wish ; we can preach our faith on the public roads and thoroughfares as freely as Christian missionaries preach theirs ; we fearlessly write and publish our answers to the charges laid against Islam by the Christian clergy, and even publish works against the Christian faith ; and last, though not least, we make converts of Christians to Islam without fear or prohibition.

I cannot, however, predict what the actual conduct of the Mussulmans would be in the event of an invasion of India by a Mohammedan or any other Power. He would be a bold man, indeed, who would answer for more than his intimate friends and relations, perhaps not even for them. . . .

Dr. Hunter then describes at length the causes which have impoverished the Mohammedan community, and accuses Government of neglecting to educate that portion of its Indian subjects. I cannot hold Government wholly responsible for this. He says that Mohammedans do not avail themselves of the Government system of education, because "the truth is, that our system of public instruction, which has awakened the Hindus from the sleep of centuries, and quickened their inert masses with some of the noble impulses of a nation, is opposed to the traditions, unsuited to the requirements, and hateful to the religion of the Mussulmans." There is a good deal of truth in this sentence ; and I only join issue with Dr. Hunter on the last clause—viz., that the system is regarded as "hateful to the religion of the Mussulmans." Dr. Hunter connects this with disaffection and loyalty to Government ; but as this is only his own opinion, I

meet it with mine, and maintain that he is mistaken. As regards the present system of education, so eagerly embraced by the Hindus, but so repugnant to the ideas of Mohammedans, it must be borne in mind how wide is the difference between the two races. There are numerous classes of Hindus who are never in the habit of discussing the doctrines of their faith. They therefore had no objection to be educated in that which was even opposed to it. Mohammedans are, however, bound to know all the tenets of their faith, to discuss them, and to regulate their lives accordingly. It is on this account that they have hitherto refrained from availing themselves of an education taught through the medium of a foreign tongue, and which they therefore deem opposed to their belief. All history proves that the introduction of new theories, opposed to any established belief, was invariably regarded with suspicion and contempt. It is not to be expected that Mohammedans, who are made of much sterner material than Hindus, will adapt themselves so readily to the various phases of this changing age. Let us have time—let us live, work, and wait. There are many reformers now at work, a fact which Dr. Hunter does not, however, appear to be aware of. The system which Dr. Hunter recommends for the education of Mohammedans does not commend itself to me, nor do I think it to be practicable. The object which he aims at will never be obtained by Government interference, but will certainly come to pass by our own exertions. Dr. Hunter writes: "We should thus at length have the Mohammedan youth educated upon our own plan. The rising generation of Mohammedans would tread the steps which have conducted the Hindus, not long ago the most bigoted nation upon earth, into their present state of easy tolerance. Such a tolerance implies a less earnest belief than their fathers had; but it has freed them, as it would liberate the Mussulmans, from the cruelties which they inflicted, the crimes which they perpetrated, and the miseries which they endured, in the name of a mistaken religion." I cannot compliment our author upon a straightforward system of education. If Government do not deal openly and fairly with its Mohammedan subjects, if it deals with them in the underhand way recommended by Dr.

Hunter, I foresee much trouble both in our days and hereafter. The evils that now exist owe their origin greatly to the want of union and sympathy between the rulers and the ruled, and ideas like Dr. Hunter's only tend to widen the gap. This Wahabi conspiracy has, I think, influenced his mind as he wrote, and he has allowed himself to be carried away by it. His work was politically a grave, and in a minor degree an historical, mistake. It is, however, hard, as I have already said, for one of the minority to attempt to remove the impression which literary skill like Dr. Hunter's has undoubtedly made on the minds of the Indian public. This impression was, as regards the native community, heightened by Dr. Hunter's work having received the approbation of the highest functionary in India.

With reference to this pamphlet of Syed Ahmed's, Sir Alfred Lyall, in his "Islam in India" (Asiatic Studies), after reviewing the historical condition and consequences of our position in India, says: "It would, I believe, be much nearer the truth to say that the inconsiderate and uneducated mass of them are against us, than that the 'best men are not on our side,' as Dr. Hunter too insidiously affirms. That author appears to lay too much stress upon the significance of the spread of Wahabiism in Lower Bengal, among a comparatively depressed and unwarlike Mohammedan population. Syed Ahmed, in his letters to the 'Indian Pioneer' (1871), denies that even the Wahabis consider that their situation under the English in India justifies a holy war; and he mentions that in 1857, when the mutineers held Delhi, Bakht Khan, the rebel commander, endeavoured to compel the Moulvis of that city to declare lawful a *jihad* against the British, but was boldly withstood and opposed by two leading Wahabis."

When Syed Ahmed returned to India from England,

in 1870, he was appointed subordinate Judge (Suddur Ameen) of Benares, where we were then stationed. Fate, apparently, seemed always to throw us together. In a way it was pleasant for him to be near us; for at that time intercourse, in a friendly way, with natives was not common, and naturally coming from England, where he had everywhere been well received, he would have felt the petty slights to which he might be exposed. The Judge of Benares, a perfect gentleman of the old Haileybury school, was a great friend of ours, and he and his wife agreed to meet Syed Ahmed at dinner at our house, so we gave a dinner at which both English ladies and gentlemen were present, and I believe that this was the first occasion on which a Mohammedan gentleman had dined at a private dinner party in India. My wife was, of course, most careful to omit anything from the menu which would be objectionable to a man of his creed.

He settled down in a large house on the banks of the Barna river, and lived in European style. I have often wondered whether the "simple life" of the Asiatic is not better suited to the East than our over elaborated Western civilisation, but Asiatics who have lived in England seem to prefer our habits. I remember at the Imperial Assemblage at Delhi (1876-77), going to see the Maharaja of Kashmire's wonderful shawl tent just after it had been used at a reception, by the Maharaja, of Lord Lytton, then Viceroy. The tent was empty save for a quiet unjewelled gentleman seated on a white cloth on the floor and with one or two others near him; this was the Maharaja himself, who as soon as the reception was over had hastened to divest himself of the panoply of state and returned to the "simple life!"

Syed Ahmed, when at Benares, was working hard to collect funds for the great work of his life, the foundation of the Allighur College. At that time a relation of my wife's, John Murray Kennedy, of Knocknalling, was staying with us. Himself a Cambridge graduate, he was deeply interested in Syed Ahmed's plans for the better education of his co-religionists, and I believe he was the first man, unconnected with India, to give a donation of 1,000 rupees towards the Syed's schemes; money was then being liberally subscribed by natives, and the dream of Syed Ahmed's life was soon to become an accomplished fact.

It was at Benares that Syed Mahmoud joined his father, after being called to the Bar in England, and before he started to practice at Allahabad. During our stay in Benares our intercourse with Syed Ahmed was constant and most intimate. I remember on one occasion dining at the house on the Barna. After an excellent English dinner some attendants brought in a large package, wrapped in scarlet cloth, and sealed with the Imperial seal of Delhi. When opened the package was found to contain thirty or more dishes of real Mohammedan cookery, prepared and cooked by the begams of the Princes of Delhi, then living at Benares, and sealed as in the time of the old Emperors of Delhi; a wise protection against poison. Some of the dishes were excellent, and Syed Ahmed was greatly pleased at my wife's appreciation of them, for whom they had been prepared. We left Benares in 1873 and did not meet Syed Ahmed again until January 1877, when we were present at the laying of the foundation stone of the Anglo-Mohammedan College.

CHAPTER XIII.

THE MOHAMMEDAN ANGLO-ORIENTAL COLLEGE—PRIZE ESSAYS—RETURN OF SYED MAHMUD—OPENING OF THE ANGLO-ORIENTAL COLLEGE AT ALLYGURH—SYED AHMED'S RETIREMENT—SIR WILLIAM MUIR'S VISIT TO ALLYGURH—LAYING FOUNDATION-STONE OF COLLEGE—DINNER AT THE ALLYGURH INSTITUTE.

EVER since his return from England, Syed Ahmed had been canvassing all parts of the country for funds for the establishment of his college, which was to be independent of Government, and which would provide religious instruction for scholars, not only Mohammedans but of *all* denominations. He had formed some of the more enlightened of the Mohammedan community into "A Committee for the better diffusion and advancement of learning among the Mohammedans of India;" and the endeavours of this Committee were directed, as Syed Ahmed said in a small pamphlet which he published, to the investigation of the causes which prevented the Mohammedan community from availing themselves adequately of Government educational institutions, and to provide means by which they might be reconciled to the study of Western arts and sciences. The Committee offered three prizes for the best essays on the subject, and no less than thirty-two

essays were sent in. "The Pioneer," in an article written some years later (1877), gave the following opinion on them :—

Thirty-two essays were sent in, and the honorary secretary of the Commtitee, in a long report now before us, has given an abstract of the arguments advanced by the essayists. The reasons why Mussulmans object to the education imparted by the State are classified in the secretary's report under the following heads :—

1. *Absence of religious education.*
2. *Effect of English education in producing disbelief in faith.*
3. *Corruption of morals, politeness, and courtesy.*
4. *Prejudices*, which are thus enumerated :—

That to read English is unlawful, and forbidden by the laws of Islam. That in Government colleges and schools Mohammedans are not allowed time to attend to their religious duties and to go to their Friday prayers. That there are no Mohammedan masters in Government colleges and schools. That the Hindu and Christian masters pay no attention to Mohammedan pupils, and that they treat them with severity. That the masters in Government colleges and schools are not generally well behaved, that their manners are generally depraved, and that they do not perfectly explain the lessons to their pupils. That the Mohammedans regard the sciences contained in works in foreign languages as of little value in comparison with those in their own, and the professors of these sciences are men of little learning and ability. That the Government system of education is opposed to their national habits and customs.

5. *The faults of the Government system of education, which are represented as exhibited chiefly in the following circumstances :—*

That the entire management of education is in the hands of one director, who does not consult the feelings of the Mussulmans. That superfluous subjects are taught, which distract the attention of the students from important subjects. That a sufficient number of teachers is not provided, and instruction is given to

the boys without any reference to their natural inclinations and capacities. That sciences are taught through the medium of English, which enhances the difficulty of the subject to beginners. That the method of examination does not secure a thorough knowledge on the subject, and encourages cramming. That oriental languages are not properly taught, and books containing matter hostile to Islam have been introduced in the Government colleges and schools.

6. *Habits and manners of the Mussulman population.*

These are thus stated :—

(*a*) That the richer classes educate their children at home, and think it below their position to send them away from home to Government educational institutions, where children of all classes are allowed to associate with each other.

(*b*) That they, moreover, having ample means of livelihood, owing to a foolish fondness for their children, consider education unnecessary for them.

(*c*) That the higher classes of Mussulmans are dissipated, and that even the middle classes are naturally indolent, indifferent to education, and improvident.

(*d*) That the Mussulmans not being generally on terms of friendly intercourse with Englishmen, there is no influence that can make English education popular amongst them.

(*e*) That the Mussulmans having a hereditary liking for the military profession, have no great desire to acquire learning.

The "Committee for the better diffusion and advancement of learning among Mohammedans" decided, at a meeting held at Benares, that they were not bound to "consider and determine upon such means only which might suit the present age, and which might now be practicable;" but that they had also to consider "the means which, quite irrespective of the existing circumstances, might be of real use to Mohammedans in the future." They had "to look forward to and inaugurate an educational system for future generations, although such a system could not possibly

be brought into working order all at once; they could consider the fabric as a whole, and commence such portions of it as are at present feasible." It was then agreed that "the times and spirit of the age, the sciences, and the results of those sciences, have all been altered. The old Mohammedan books and the tone of their writers do not teach the followers of Islam independence of thought, perspicuity, and simplicity; nor do they enable them to arrive at the truth of matters in general: on the contrary, they deceive and teach men to veil their meaning, to embellish their speech with fine words, to describe things wrongly and in irrelevant terms, to flatter with false praise, to live in a state of bondage, to puff themselves up with pride, haughtiness, vanity, and self-conceit to their fellow-creatures, to have no sympathy with them, to speak with exaggeration, to leave the history of the past uncertain, and to relate facts like tales and stories."

The College was established. One main feature which distinguishes it from other educational institutions in India is, that most of the students are obliged to live within its precincts, thus removed from the injurious influences which in an Indian home prejudice the growth of the young mind. The main object of the institution is to impart liberal instruction to the children of the better classes of the Mussulman community,—to make them regard English education, not as a mere technical training for Government service, but as necessary to a gentleman whether of Western or oriental birth. The college course will last about five years, excluding the school course, which extends over four years, during which boys go through the education preparatory for the higher course. The chief subjects to be taught in the college are:—

I. *Languages:* English and Arabic (including elementary Mohammedan theology).

II. *Moral Sciences:* (1) Logic, Rhetoric, Mental and Moral Philosophy; (2) Political Economy, Political Philosophy, and Science of History.

III. *Natural Philosophy:* (1) Mathematics, (2) Natural Sciences.

IV. *Mohammedan Law, Jurisprudence, and Theology.*

The last meeting of the Committee was held on the 15th April 1872, and it was then resolved that "The Mohammedan Anglo-Oriental College Fund Committee" should be formed, which Committee gave existence to the present College at Allygurh.

In October 1873, Syed Mahmud returned from Cambridge and Lincoln's Inn a barrister-at-law, and his father gave a dinner to celebrate the occasion. It was remarkable as being the first dinner in these provinces at which Mohammedan and English gentlemen sat down together. There were upwards of forty at table, Syed Ahmed at the top and I at the bottom. An amusing episode occurred. Alongside one of the Mohammedan gentlemen, who happened to have a great sense of humour, and who had already dined privately with Europeans, was a certain Nawab whose maiden dinner it was with us. After the soup, when the first course came round, he whispered to his more experienced neighbour, "What is this dish?" "*Soor* (pig)," was the prompt reply. *That* dish was of necessity hastily passed on untouched by the Nawab. The same thing occurred when the next dish was presented to him, and he would have starved had not the wag taken pity on him and let out the joke. I wish Mr. Wilfrid Blunt could have been present that night, one of the many that I have spent with my native gentlemen friends. He could not have asserted in the "Fortnightly" lately that the native gentleman takes his dinner sadly with us.

In April 1874 I was transferred from Benares, and Syed Ahmed and other native genetlemen gave me a dinner and evening party, at which many Mohamme-

dan and European gentlemen dined together, and numbers of Hindu gentlemen were present. The dinner was given in the fairy-like gardens of my good friend Raja Shambu Narainha Sinha. Speeches were interdicted from headquarters, greatly to the annoyance of Syed Ahmed. Some days after this all my native friends saw my wife and self off at the railway station, and the last we saw and heard was old Syed Ahmed waving his fez cap above his venerable head, leading three cheers for us. I next met him at the Imperial Assemblage at Delhi in December 1876.

The ceremony of the opening of the College took place on the 24th May 1875, but actual work commenced on the 1st June, when some of the school classes were formed. On the 12th November of this year Sir William Muir visited the College and delivered the following address :—

My Friends, Members of the Committee, Nawabs, and Supporters of the Mohammedan Anglo-Oriental College,—I am very glad to be here on this interesting occasion, and to be able to congratulate the Committee on finding that the institution has reached so practical and prosperous a stage ; and I specially wish my friend Syed Ahmed Khan Bahadoor joy at the desire he has so long cherished as the chief wish of his heart receiving the first fruit of its fulfilment.

I had two objects in making this visit to Allygurh : First, you have done me the honour of appointing me a visitor of this college, and in pursuance of that office it was incumbent on me to inspect the institution, observe its progress, and offer any advice which the circumstances might demand. Next, when I contributed to the funds of this project, it was on the condition that the amount should be appropriated strictly to the furtherance of secular studies, and of European science and literature ; and I thought that it would be satisfactory, as well to the Committee as to myself, to inquire upon the spot how far the arrangements for the separate pursuit of these secular studies were in actual

operation before completing my donation. I need not say, after the report which has just been read, that the promised arrangements have been faithfully and fully carried out.

I take this opportunity of making a few remarks on the relations in which we English stand to this Mohammedan college, and the conditions under which it appears to me that it can be legitimately aided by us who profess the Christian faith. The great majority of mankind agree in this, that the education of the young should be upon the religious basis ; few dispute it as an abstract principle. The youthful mind is like a newly planted twig : bend the branch, and in after-years it will remain always crooked ; train it straight and upright, so it will be hereafter. If childhood is passed without the inculcation of those high truths which influence the life,—the sense of a personal deity, the consciousness of right and wrong, the doctrine of rewards and punishments,—the probabilities are, that the restraints against vice and self-indulgence will be permanently weakened. On the contrary, the earlier instruction, moral and religious, is imparted, the more it is assimilated with the constitution, and the more efficacious it becomes.

If the State were to inculcate Christianity in its schools and colleges, the Hindus and the Mohammedans would naturally object ; and a Christian Government could not inculcate the tenets of Hinduism or Islam. The State in its schools is not indeed unmindful of the great and fundamental principles of morality ; but religion the State must leave to be taught and enforced at home ; it becomes the duty of the parents in their domestic training to supply the want. Many, too, would probably hold that any other course was inconsistent with the gracious assurance of the Queen, who, when assuming the direct administration of this Government, declared that while herself placing a firm reliance on the truth of Christianity, and acknowledging with gratitude the solace of the Christian religion, disclaimed alike the right and the desire to impose her own convictions upon her Indian subjects.

But when, apart from any official relation to the Government, we come to act in our private capacity, we are free to follow our own convictions, and it is

then our general practice personally to support those institutions in which education is founded on religious principles. Believing ourselves in the divine origin of Christianity and the inestimable blessings it confers, we thus, in our individual and private capacity, support those seminaries of youth in which education is based upon the truths of the Christian faith.

Now it is precisely because we hold these principles and make this our practice that we can fully recognise the corresponding principles upon which, from a Mohammedan point of view, this college has been founded, and can sympathise so far with the action of this Committee. And although, holding the Christian faith, we cannot ourselves contribute towards the inculcation of the tenets of Islam, we can yet fully approve the wide and liberal basis upon which the college is established. And more than this, in so far as the teaching of secular learning, history, science, and literature are separately communicated to the students, I for one am prepared to aid in rendering this department of the college, as it promises to be, thoroughly efficient towards its end.

And, in truth, the grand benefits to be secured from the instruction of your pupils with a wide range of literature and scientific knowledge are so great that they cannot possibly be overestimated. It is thus that the mind and sympathies of the youth will be enlarged. The knowledge of history and of foreign lands will correct views otherwise narrowed by the sole contemplation of what is immediately around, and enable the youth to expatiate in the experience of other ages and of other nations than their own; their minds will be improved by acquaintance with the great discoveries, mechanical and scientific, of later times; and their view will be elevated and expanded by contemplation of the works of the Creator in the starry heavens, and the wonders of nature here on earth. If you ascend even a little eminence in the country, the view expands, and the survey becomes more distant and comprehensive. Some of you have been in the Himalayan hills. So long as you remain in a valley, the landscape is confined; you see but a few villages, and these perhaps obscured by cloud and mist. Such is the state of ignorance and narrow-mindedness in which neglected

youth is left. But as you ascend, the circle amplifies; new hills, new scenes open out before you; still higher, the great plains of Hindustan, mapped as it were for hundred of miles around, stretch into sight, and the horizon is seen farther and farther in the widening distance; and if you mount yet higher, the glorious range of snow with its dazzling peaks rises into view, and the whole soul kindles at the sight. The narrowness and obscurity have gone, and a far-seeing and unbounded expansiveness taken their place. Even such is the effect of the higher education and pursuit of liberal studies.

And now one word of advice to the boys themselves. Knowledge is not the sole or highest object of your education here. Let the *éleves* of the Allygurh College be known not only for their learning, but also for their probity and faithfulness; for truth, obedience to their parents, and discharge of all the relative duties of life; for purity and self-restraint; for sympathy and consideration for the wants of others. Let those within your reach be the better and the happier for you. The pillar of social morality is just this, that you should share and lighten the burdens of your neighbour.

And when you have finished your course here, do not deem your education as if it were complete. The true student is a student all his life. You will seek to benefit your country by your learning; you will endeavour to impart to others the blessings you have yourselves received, to extend sound education, and to raise the social standard around you. There is a kind of knowledge that is mechanical and fruitless. In the Koran it is likened to the lading of books upon an ass—*ka masal il himari yahmilu asfârân;* the ass is not a whit the wiser or the better for his load. See that this be not the case with any of you; but let the fruits be manifest in a God-fearing, honest, and useful life.

I have often while in these provinces lamented the custom by which the females of India are left in ignorance, and have urged upon you the necessity, if you would really seek to elevate the social position of the people, of educating your girls. And here once more I would advert to the subject, for I feel persuaded that until this is done no real advance will be permanently secured. I lately saw in the papers the account of an

excellent school established at Cairo by one of the wives of his Highness the Khedive of Egypt. This lady erected for the purpose a beautiful building, and procured a lady from Syria, called Sitt Rosa, with a staff of teachers. There are 200 boarders and 100 day-scholars; and they are taught all kinds of needlework, European and oriental, besides reading and writing and useful knowledge. As I read, I thought to myself—Would that some native lady in these provinces might follow this example! Such, now, is a specimen of the way in which each and all of you might become useful to your fellow-countrymen.

Sir William Muir then acknowledged the munificent patronage of his Highness the Nawab of Rampore, G.C.S.I., and of his Highness the Maharajah of Patialla, G.C.S.I., towards the college; and the aid of Sir Salar Jang, G.C.S.I., who had accepted the office of visitor. Nawab Asghur Ally, Minister of the Nawab of Rampore, would be able to communicate to his Highness in what a promising state of forwardness Sir W. Muir had found the institution to be. Of the local gentry, Rajah Syed Bakar Ally Khan, Talookdar of Pundrawal, Lutf Ally Khan of Chittaree, and Inayatoolla Khan of Bheekumpore, were also mentioned with commendation.

Moulvie Samee-oolla, the Subordinate Judge of Allygurh, had devoted himself heart and soul to the institution; and the rapid progress already attained was in great measure due to him.

Mohammed Obeidoolla Khan, Sahebzada of Tonk, was mentioned as present with three of the Nawab's cousins, whose education at the college would show the confidence reposed in the institution by leading men in that State.

Syed Ahmed Khan, C.S.I., being himself one of his auditors, Sir W. Muir would refrain from dilating on what the college owed to him. As he had said before, that which had been the fond desire of his heart for many years, was now in fair course of being fulfilled; and the consciousness of this would be his highest reward.

Finally, Sir W. Muir had great pleasure in assuring the Committee of the warm interest taken in the institution by the Viceroy himself. Before leaving Simla,

Lord Northbrook had told him that, if other public engagements should admit of his doing so, his Excellency would be prepared in the spring to lay the foundation-stone of the college

Sir W. Muir then acknowledged the valuable assistance which the college had received from Mr. Deighton, Principal of the Agra College, who had honoured them with his presence. And he concluded by saying that he trusted yet, before retiring from India, to see the college buildings well completed, and the institution in full working order.

In 1876, after thirty-seven years' service, Syed Ahmed retired on his pension, and took up his abode at Allygurh. In October 1876, Sir William Muir again visited Allygurh on his way home, and was presented by Mohammedans with a beautifully engrossed address in a sandal-wood box mounted in chased silver. In the course of their address they announced that they had raised a fund to establish a scholarship, to be called after his name. "This," they said, "will be for our future generations a memorial of your zeal for Western learning, combined with your attention to the sciences of the Arabs, and an enduring record of the deep impression which you have left on our minds, and your noble exertions on our behalf."

Sir William Muir replied first in Urdu and then in English :—

My Friends,—I receive your address with feelings of high gratification. It is a matter of the deepest satisfaction to me that, in my administration of these provinces, I should in any measure have secured the confidence of the great Mohammedan body which you represent. Receive the warm reciprocation of my regard, and my sincere sorrow at the prospect of bidding a final farewell to friends among whom I have lived during the greater part of my life, and whom I so highly and affectionately esteem.

The form in which you propose to perpetuate the memory of my residence among you is the one which

of all others most approves itself to my sympathy and judgment. I have long appreciated the study of the noble language in which the address is so simply and elegantly written, and have myself beguiled many an hour in the company of the early Arabic writers. I look to the highest advantages being gained by your race in India from the study of your beautiful and classical language, combined with the study of the literature and science of the West, and it is this combination which has led me to take so special an interest in the Mohammedan College of Allygurh. It was therefore with no common feelings of pleasure that I learned your design of endowing a scholarship in my name having this object in view.

My friends, during the whole course of my administration, I have ever found the Mussulmans of Upper India faithful to the Queen; and, amongst their superior ranks, very many who have been forward to support the British Government in its great work of promoting the prosperity and elevating the social and moral condition of the people.

I shall carry with me, and ever bear in my heart, the memory of the goodness I have experienced at your hands, and of associations which have enshrined many amongst you in the number of friends very dear to me. Farewell! and may every blessing attend you. Your sincere and faithful friend, W. MUIR.

In December 1876 my wife and I went up to Delhi for the Imperial Assemblage, and met Syed Ahmed after a parting of over two years. One day in writing to my old friend his Highness the Maharaja of Benares, who was at the Assemblage, I put the letters G.C.S.I. after his name on the envelope. A few days afterwards he came over to me quite excited, and asked me how I had known that he was to get the Grand Cross of the Star of India, as he had only received intimation that it had been bestowed upon him that morning! Syed Ahmed, years afterwards, on my telling him of this curious coincidence, reminded me that I had, in 1863, told him that I should see him in Council.

Curiously enough, I also told Syed Mahmud, when he came out from England in 1873, that he would be the first Native Judge in the High Court, North-West Provinces. He has been one now (1885) for years past

On the night of the 7th January we went to Allygurh as Syed Ahmed's guests, to witness the laying the foundation of his college by Lord Lytton. As the Viceregal party were to occupy Syed Ahmed's house, he lodged us in a house close by, and entertained us regally.

"The Pioneer" of the 8th contained an article on "Mohammedan Education," of which the following is an extract: "The ceremony which takes place to-day at Allygurh marks the great progress already made by one of the most thoroughly sound and promising movements ever set on foot for the advancement of Indian education. The name of Syed Ahmed Khan, the principal promoter of the Mohammedan Anglo-Oriental College, will be held in grateful remembrance in the future by large masses of his countrymen, who may as yet hardly appreciate the importance of the influence he has brought to bear upon their intellectual and political development. The rising college bids fair to be a real force in this country, and its expansion is guaranteed by the fact that it is entirely spontaneous in its growth—the fruit, that is to say, of purely native sagacity and determination, in no way an exotic institution, planted by Government and watered by official favour."

Lord and Lady Lytton and party arrived at Allygurh on the 8th, and the following is an abbreviated account of the ceremony :—

One of the most important movements in connection with the progress of the more advanced section of the Mohammedan body in India has to-day assumed a tangible shape, which cannot fail to attract considerable attention both from intelligent natives and from the Anglo-Indian community. It has long been recognised that a spirit of enlightened advancement has of late begun to make itself felt among the higher class of Mohammedans in India, and the untiring energy of Syed Ahmed Khan, Bahadoor, certainly one of the most remarkable men of his race, has brought about results which a few years ago would have seemed impossible. With a depth of insight which was as well guided as it was original in its working, Syed Ahmed recognised the all-important fact that if the Mohammedan population was to assume a position in which its abilities and natural powers would have full play, it would be necessary to accept Western ideas of education, and to break through the prejudices which held his countrymen in check. Without such a system of education as would enable a Mohammedan youth to compete with English rivals for place and advancement under the Government of the country, he saw at once that the severest efforts would fail to accomplish any great purpose, and that, however supreme his own influence might be in life, it would inevitably pass away when his personal attention was withdrawn. But if, by a process of constant and unwearying labour, he was able to establish a new order of things which might, in the ordinary course of events, exercise a direct and permanent effect upon the whole Mohammedan body, then he became convinced that such labour should be given freely and ungrudgingly, as the end to be attained would contain its own reward. The elevation, morally and socially, of a race with traditions and superstitions equal to, if not surpassing, those of any Western Power, was in itself a task from which most orientals would have shrunk; but even persecution of the most bigoted kind could not deter the leader of advanced Islam in India from steadily pursuing his own course. The establishment of a college, framed as nearly as possible upon lines of the English universities, was the particular form which his ideas assumed; and after extraordinary difficulties and opposition, he has so

far broken down the barriers of his conservative countrymen that the foundation of the Mohammedan Anglo-Oriental College has become possible. The support accorded, not only by members of Syed Ahmed's creed, but by philanthropic Englishmen and broad-minded Hindus, has been so liberal, that a future of infinite promise appears to be extended before the institution. This is not the first time that allusion has been made to the college and its special objects, and it is exceedingly gratifying that the ceremony of laying the foundation-stone of the building to-day was presided over by the Viceroy in person, and that his Excellency was privileged to meet a large body of representative Mohammedans whose loyalty is above reproach, and whose eagerness to advance the social condition of their fellows is based upon no selfish or unworthy motives.

Lord Lytton arrived at Allygurh by special train from Patialla at nine o'clock this morning. Breakfast was served at the residence of Syed Ahmed, at which a number of native gentlemen, members of the Committee, were presented to his Excellency; and a visit was afterwards paid to the present college. Lord Lytton then returned to his host's house, and at noon a procession of carriages was formed to the *shamiana* which had been erected on the college grounds, and which was already nearly filled by a large number of Mohammedan gentlemen. His lordship was received by Syed Ahmed, and the whole of the assembly rose as his Excellency entered the *shamiana*.

As soon as the Viceroy was seated, after acknowledgment of his reception, Mr. Syed Mahmud stepped forward and read an address, containing objects sought to be obtained in the establishment of the college.

ADDRESS.

To H.E. the Right Hon. EDWARD ROBERT LYTTON BULWER-LYTTON

Baron LYTTON of Knebworth, G.M.S.I.,

Viceroy and Governor-General of India.

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR EXCELLENCY,—On an occasion like the present, when we, the loyal subjects of her Majesty the Queen of Great Britain and Ireland,

and Empress of India, are assembled here from all parts of this vast empire to inaugurate the foundation of an educational institution, the first of its kind in this country, it will not be out of place to express in a public manner the profound gratitude which we feel for the great attention which the English Government in India has paid to the education of our countrymen. It is, indeed, only doing justice to our feelings when we say that never before in the history of the world has one nation so striven to raise the moral and intellectual state of another. . . .

We, the Mussulman subjects of her Imperial Majesty, consider ourselves more particularly bound in gratitude to the Government of India for its having of late years shown so strong a disposition to advance the cause of education amongst our community, and for issuing directions to the provincial Governments to adopt special measures to supply our intellectual needs. . . . . . So different in many respects are our educational wants from those of the rest of the population of India, that the best measures which the Government can adopt, consistently with its policy, must still be inadequate; and even if it were not opposed to the wise policy of Government to interfere in matters of religion, it would be beyond its powers to remove difficulties which owe their strength to religious ideas, and will only yield to theological discussion. The Government could neither introduce a system of religious instruction, nor could it direct its efforts towards contending with the prejudices of a race by whom religion is regarded not merely as a matter of abstract belief, but also as the ultimate guide in the most ordinary secular concerns of life. The treatment which the question of Mohammedan education has in this respect received at the hands of the Government, is fully appreciated by us, and leaves no room for any kind of dissatisfaction or complaint.

Recognising the difficulties which had thus prevented the Government educational system from fully exercising its beneficial effects upon the intellectual and moral condition of our community, a few of its more advanced members determined to establish a college upon principles which should meet the wishes and supply the educational wants of the members of our faith. The

Mohammedan Anglo-Oriental College Fund Committee was accordingly formed to carry out this object. Their endeavours had at first to encounter a very formidable opposition from the bulk of the Mussulman community —an opposition due to the same causes that had kept Mohammedans away from the Government colleges and schools throughout the country. The opposition, at one time so dangerous, is gradually dying away, and the promoters of the scheme may well be proud that their endeavours have reached the stage at which your Excellency finds them to-day. Trusting to that sympathy which, in a well-governed country, must always exist between the dominant race and those over whom they bear rule, the Mohammedan Anglo-Oriental College Fund Committee determined to invite subscriptions from the English community as well as from the members of their own faith. Nor did the Committee omit to ask the aid of their Hindu fellow-countrymen; for they felt that neither race nor creed would, with rightly thinking men, stand in the way of support to an undertaking such as theirs. Their expectations have in both cases been amply justified.

Foremost among them stands your Excellency's predecessor, Lord Northbrook, whose handsome donation of Rs. 10,000 has, by his desire, been devoted to the founding of scholarships which will be called after his name—a name the Mussulmans of India have good reason to hold in high honour.

Sir William Muir, K.C.S.I., whom the people of this country will long remember for his interest in everything connected with education, showed his warm sympathy with this project, not only by his personal liberality, but by granting us, when Lieutenant-Governor of these provinces, the spacious grounds on which the buildings of this college will stand. These grounds will be laid out as a park, which, in token of the gratitude we justly owe to Sir W. Muir, will be called after his name.

To Sir John Strachey, K.C.S.I., late Lieutenant-Governor of these provinces, no less a measure of our thanks is due. At a time when the Committee stood in urgent need of help—when its endeavours were most in danger from the opposition of those who, having influence in the country, would have used it against us

without pausing to consider the importance of the effort being made—he not only helped us munificently from his own purse, but also made us a special grant from the money annually allotted by Government to the department of Public Instruction. This timely assistance has enabled the Committee to open the school department, the classes in which are gradually working up to the course laid down for the college. But what the Committee values most is the genuine sympathy which he has shown towards our endeavours, and the outspoken manner in which he has countenanced our schemes. That there may be some record, however insufficient, of our feelings of deep respect and affection towards one who has deserved so well of us, the central hall of the college buildings will receive the name of the "Strachey Hall."

To your Excellency we find it difficult to express in fitting terms the loyal gratitude with which we regard the honour you to-day confer upon us by condescending to grace a ceremony which has drawn together so large a number of our countrymen from all parts of India. To preserve the memory of an act so indicative of that true interest in the welfare of her Imperial Majesty's Indian subjects which has characterised your Excellency's administration, we have, by your Excellency's gracious permission, determined to call the library of the college after your Excellency's name; and we entertain a sincere hope that the building will not be unworthy of the honour which it thus receives.

Conspicuous amongst those who, without having any especial connection with this country, have taken an interest in our labours and supported them by their generosity, is the name of Lord Stanley of Alderley. To him and to our other friends in England, the founders of this college would tender their warmest thanks. The record of their goodwill preserved in the archives of this college will, in after-ages, serve to show that the generous sympathy of a warm-hearted nation was not grudged to the Mussulmans of India when making an independent effort to raise themselves in the intellectual scale.

To our Hindu friends also our thanks are largely due. Foremost among them is the name, remembered by us with no less sorrow than gratitude, of his High-

ness Sir Maharao Rajah Mohandar Singh, Mohandar Bahadoor, G.C.S.I., the late Maharajah of Patialla, whose munificent contributions to the college amount to no less than Rs. 58,000. Their Highnesses the Maharajah of Vizianagram, K.C.S.I., and the Maharajah of Benares, head the list, which includes the names of many liberal-minded Hindu gentlemen, whose philanthropy forbids them to recognise distinctions of race and creed. In their large-hearted public spirit we see the germs of that true toleration and genuine sympathy which are the direct result of peace and good government.

At the enthusiastic response which the members of our faith have made to the appeal of the Committee, all true friends of India will, we are sure, rejoice. The countenance shown to the scheme by his Excellency Sir Salar Jang, G.C.S.I., and through him by the Government of his Highness the Nizam, has added gratitude to those feelings of sincere respect and true admiration with which his enlightened efforts on behalf of civilisation have always been regarded by the people of this country, and which make him an illustrious ornament of the nobility of India. His Excellency's sympathy with our efforts, and his acceptance of the office of visitor of the college, have conferred on our humble endeavours a prestige which must make English education attractive to the highest classes of our countrymen. As a mark of our gratitude to his Highness the Nizam of Hyderabad, who has endowed the college with the princely sum of Rs. 90,000, the Committee has determined to call the museum of the college after his Highness's name.

With similar feelings of grateful pride we would mention the name of his Highness Nawab Mohammud Kalb Ali Khan, Bahadoor, G.C.S.I., Nawab of Rampur, who, as patron of the Committee, is closely concerned with our labours, and whose generosity has been most liberally extended to our scheme. His Highness's unavoidable absence on the present occasion is the only circumstance which mars our otherwise unalloyed pleasure.

The Committee has further to express its best thanks to Khalifa Syed Mohammud Hassan Khan, Bahadoor,

of Patialla, whose enlightened zeal has largely contributed to our success.

Nor should the names be forgotton of Nawab Faiz Ali Khan, Bahadoor, K.C.S.I., of Pahasu; Kanwar Mohammud Lutf Ali Khan, of Chhatari; Rajah Syed Bakar Ali Khan, of Pindrawal; Khwaja Ahsanullah, Khan Bahadoor, of Dacca; and Mohammud Inayatoolla Khan, of Bhikampur,—all of whom have shown a warm appreciation of the objects of the Committee, and a generosity worthy of the importance of the movement.

The college, of which your Excellency is about to lay the foundation-stone, differs in many important respects from all other educational institutions which this country has seen. There have before been schools and colleges founded and endowed by private individuals. There have been others built by sovereigns and supported by the revenues of the State. But this is the first time in the history of the Mohammedans of India that a college owes its establishment, not to the charity or love of learning of an individual, not to the splendid patronage of a monarch, but to the combined wishes and the united efforts of a whole community. It has its origin in causes which the history of this country has never witnessed before. It is based upon principles of toleration and progress such as find no parallel in the annals of the East. The British rule in India is the most wonderful phenomenon the world has ever seen. That a race living in a distant region, differing from us in language, in manners, in religion—in short, in all that distinguishes the inhabitants of one country from those of another—should triumph over the barriers which nature has placed in its way, and unite under one sceptre the various peoples of this vast continent, is in itself wonderful enough. But that they, who have thus become the masters of the soil, should rule its inhabitants, not with those feelings and motives which inspired the conquerors of the ancient world, but should make it the first principle of their government to advance the happiness of the millions of a subject race, by establishing peace, by administering justice, by spreading education, by introducing the comforts of life which modern civilisation has bestowed upon mankind, is to us manifestation of the hand of Providence, and an assurance of long life to the union of

India with England. To make these facts clear to the minds of our countrymen; to educate them, so that they may be able to appreciate these blessings; to dispel those illusory traditions of the past which have hindered our progress; to remove those prejudices which have hitherto exercised a baneful influence on our race; to reconcile oriental learning with Western literature and science; to inspire in the dreamy minds of the people of the East the practical energy which belongs to those of the West; to make the Mussulmans of India worthy and useful subjects of the British Crown; to inspire in them that loyalty which springs, not from servile submission to a foreign rule, but from genuine appreciation of the blessings of good government,—these are the objects which the founders of the college have prominently in view. And looking at the difficulties which stood in our way, and the success which has already been achieved, we do not doubt that we shall continue to receive, even in larger measure, both from the English Government and from our own countrymen, that liberal support which has furthered our scheme, so that from the seed which we sow to-day there may spring up a mighty tree, whose branches, like those of the banyan of the soil, shall in their turn strike firm roots into the earth, and themselves send forth new and vigorous saplings ; that this college may expand into a university, whose sons shall go forth throughout the length and breadth of the land to preach the gospel of free inquiry, of large-hearted toleration, and of pure morality.

And now, before asking your Excellency to lay the foundation-stone of the Mohammedan Anglo-Oriental College, we cannot refrain from expressing a feeling which, we are sure, fills the bosoms not only of those here present, but of the whole Mussulman community—the feeling of pride that the laying of the foundation-stone of a Mohammedan College should be the first public ceremony in which the Viceroy and Governor-General of India, as the representative of that august Sovereign whose reign has added to the welfare of millions, has taken part since the assumption by her Imperial Majesty of her title of Empress of India. And allied to this sentiment, to which the oriental mind attaches no small importance, is one which we shall

ever cherish—the feeling of deep and grateful satisfaction that the foundation-stone of the first national institution for the propagation of learning among the Mussulmans of India was laid by one to whom literature is an inheritance, and whose name is illustrious alike in the world of letters and in that of politics.

Signed on behalf of the Mohammedan Anglo-Oriental College Fund Committee by

LUTF ALI KHAN, *President.*
SYED BAKAR ALI KHAN, *Vice-President.*
SYED AHMED, *Honorary Secretary.*

ALLYGURH, *the 8th January* 1877.

His Excellency listened very attentively to the address, and expressed his assent with the more forcibly stated opinions in an unmistakable way. Lord Lytton in return made the following response :—

GENTLEMEN,—I cannot doubt that the ceremony on behalf of which we are now assembled, constitutes an epoch in the social progress of India under British rule, which is no less creditable to the past than pregnant with promise for the future. In this belief I rejoice that I have been able to take part in it ; and I cordially reciprocate the sentiments expressed in the address with which you have greeted me. Your regretful acknowledgment of the peculiar difficulties which have hitherto beset the progress of modern education among the Mohammedan community in India attests the sincerity, and enhances the value of your welcome assurance that this important community is now resolved to rely mainly on its own efforts for the gradual removal of those difficulties. The well-known vigour of the Mohammedan character guarantees the ultimate success of your exertions, if they be fairly and firmly devoted to the attainment of this object. I need not remind you, gentlemen, of the old story of the man who prayed to Hercules to help his cart out of the rut. It was not till he put his own shoulder to the wheel that his prayer was granted. I congratulate you on the vigour with which you are putting your shoulder to the wheel. Only give to this institution the means of adequately satisfying the requirements of the modern system of education, and you will thereby have given it also a just

and recognised claim to such assistance as it may, from time to time, be in the power of Government to extend to voluntary efforts on behalf of such education. This I promise you; and I promise it the more willingly, because the whole tone of your address assures me that my promise, instead of inducing you to relax the efforts you are now making, will encourage your perseverance in the prosecution and extension of them. You have observed, in the course of the address, that by the Mohammedan race its religion is regarded "not merely as a matter of abstract belief, but also as the ultimate guide in the most secular concerns of life." Gentlemen, I conceive this to be the true spirit of all sincere religious belief; for the guidance of human conduct in relation to all the duties of life is the proposed object of every religion, whatever the name and whatever the form of it. But you will, I am sure, be the last to admit that anything in the creed of Islam is incompatible with the highest forms of intellectual culture. The greatest and most enduring conquests of the Mohammedan races have all been achieved in the fields of science, literature, and art. Not only have they given to a great portion of this continent an architecture which is still the wonder and admiration of the world, but in an age when the Christian societies of Europe had barely emerged out of intellectual darkness and social barbarism, they covered the whole Iberian Peninsula with schools of medicine, of mathematics, and philosophy, far in advance of all contemporary science; and to this day the populations of Spain and Portugal, for their very sustenance, are mainly dependent on the past labours of Moorish engineers. But Providence has not confided to any single race a permanent initiative in the direction of human thought or the development of social life. The modern culture of the West is now in a position to repay the great debt owed by it to the early wisdom of the East. It is to the activity of Western ideas, and the application of Western science, that we must now look for the social and political progress of this Indian empire; and it is in the absorption of those ideas and the mastery of that science, that I exhort the Mohammedans of India to seek and find new fields of conquest, and fresh opportunities for the achievements of a noble ambition. Gentlemen, when

the printing-press was first discovered, a certain monk predicted that unless that dangerous innovation were immediately suppressed, it would soon put an end to the power of every Government. "Because," he said, "so much lead would be used up in the making of type, that none would be left for the making of bullets." That prediction, as we all know, has not been verified. Governments still find it necessary to make bullets, and still find lead enough to make them. But for the maintenance of that dominion to which the British Government most aspires, the printing-press is an instrument quite as powerful as the cannon. Allow me therefore to indicate, in passing, one special reason for the satisfaction with which I welcome the establishment of this college. There is no object which the Government of India has more closely at heart than that the plain principles of its rule should be thoroughly intelligible to all its subjects, from the highest to the humblest. But for my own part, I cannot anticipate the complete attainment of this object until the precepts of English polity have been translated, not only into vernacular forms of speech, but also into vernacular forms of thought. For such an undertaking it is obvious that a body of cultivated natives is better fitted than twice the number of English officials, or twenty times the number of European scholars ; and I can truly say that those who succeed in such an undertaking will have thereby rendered not only to the Government, but also to all their countrymen, a service that cannot be too highly appreciated. Therefore, whilst warmly sympathising with you in my appreciation of the difficulties you have encountered, and thus far successfully overcome, and whilst cordially congratulating you on the success with which you have overcome them, I welcome that success, not for your sakes only, but for the sake of the whole empire—trusting it may prove a salutary incentive to similar efforts in other directions for the general diffusion, not merely of intellectual culture, but of what is still more important, the appreciation of intellectual culture throughout India. You have referred to the exertions made by Government to stimulate such voluntary efforts. I am glad to recognise in the creation of this institution a proof that the exertions have not been in vain ; but I need hardly

remind you that neither in the matter of education, nor anything else, can the Government undertake to provide an artificial supply for which there is no national demand. Your address has rightly given prominent notice to the assistance you have received in the promotion of this college from many influential personages not within the pale of your community. The fact is full of promise and encouragement, for it indicates that others as well as yourselves are alive to the importance of the cause you represent, and recognise in the attainment of the objects you have set before you a general benefit confined to no class or creed of the community. In graceful recognition of the sympathy and aid received from those whose race and religion differ from your own, you have resolved to associate with the endowment and construction of your college the names of some of its most eminent benefactors. You could not have selected names more worthy of such lasting recognition than those of my distinguished predecessor, Lord Northbrook, and my valued colleagues, Sir William Muir and Sir John Strachey—statesmen whose sympathies have always been in accordance with the object you have at heart, and whose labours have done so much to render possible the attainment of it. It is with great pleasure that I accept your flattering offer to associate my own name with names already so illustrious. A library is the best society to which any man could be admitted; for it is an assemblage of the world's greatest benefactors—the wise and good of all ages: *hic vivant vivere digni*—here live those who are worthy to live; and I esteem it a privilege to lay the foundation of a building under whose sheltering roof the number of such worthies is likely to increase. In doing so I heartily wish God-speed to yourselves, your college, and your cause.

His Excellency then proceeded to the end of the *shamiana* and formally laid the foundation-stone, which was lowered to its proper position under the direction of Mr. Noyes, executive engineer. A bottle containing scrolls and coins was deposited in a cavity of the foundation, and a metal plate with a suitable inscription was placed over this. The stone having been proved to be correctly laid, the Viceroy tapped it three times with a mallet and said, "I declare this stone to be

well and truly laid." He then returned to his seat, and Khan Bahadoor Mohammed Hyat Khan said that, on behalf of the Fund Committee and of the Mohammedan community at large, he had to thank his Excellency for the great honour he had conferred upon them that day in laying the foundation-stone of the college. He had also to express the extreme feeling of grateful pleasure with which they had regarded the presence of Lady Lytton. They were now assured of the interest her ladyship was pleased to take in their labours.

In the evening a public dinner was given by the members of the College Fund Committee at the Allygurh Institute, to which some sixty guests were invited. The company included about an equal number of Mohammedans and Europeans. Kanwar Lutf Ali Khan presided, and the vice-chair was occupied by Rajah Syed Bakar Ali Khan. Syed Ahmed Khan and Khan Bahadoor Mohammed Hyat were also present.

The first toast was "The Empress of India and the prosperity of the British rule in India." This was proposed by Mr. Syed Mahmud on behalf of the president of the Committee, and in the course of his speech he said that of course in a country so far distant from England as was India, the imagination of the people in regard to their monarch could assume no very definite shape. But still there were many reasons why those who had never seen their Empress should regard her with feelings of affection equal to that experienced by those who had seen her over and over again. To them the Empress of India appeared through the wonderful management and good government which had made the country prosperous, and had restored to it that peace and happiness which had been unknown for centuries. With respect to the latter part of the toast, to the Mohammedan mind the British rule in India and the person of the Empress of India were one and the same thing. They had been accustomed for a long time to live as a subject race. Ever since the beginning of the English rule, the people of India, and especially the Mohammedan community, had been unable to take that part in the social intercourse with English gentlemen which they ought certainly to have taken. There had been numerous causes which had led to this unsatisfactory state of affairs, and in the course of continual

discussions he had heard it repeatedly said that the reason why there was so little intercourse between the two races was that the English people were too exclusive in their ideas. He had also heard it stated by his English friends that the natives of India had prejudices and feelings which prevented them joining in social intercourse with the English. He for his own part looked upon the unsatisfactory state of things as due to the absence of proper education in the Mohammedan community. Of course the main object of the college of which the foundation-stone had just been laid, was to remove this unsatisfactory condition of affairs ; and the Viceroy himself had said, that in trying to remove this they were removing the great obstacle to international intercourse between Englishmen and the Mussulman community. He (Mr. Syed Mahmud) was perfectly certain that, however small might be the intercourse at present, there were many men, both in the English and Mohammedan communities in India, who looked upon each other in the light of fellow-subjects—who did not consider the one as ruled and the other as ruler. He was confident that the bond of being subject to the same monarch, of being governed by the same laws, of living under the same rules of social life—because laws did govern social life—exercised a much greater power than the mere personal conduct of individuals of both races. However inadequately he had expressed the feelings which filled the hearts of his friends the members of the Committee, and especially of the president, he sincerely hoped that the toast would be drunk with as great enthusiasm by the Englishmen present as it would be by the Mohammedans. He coupled with it the name of Mr. Chase. The toast was drunk with enthusiastic loyalty, and Mr. Chase briefly replied. He said that he had been many years in India, not merely in times of peace, but on occasions of great excitement, and he had known their Mohammedan friends risk their all, even lives, for the good order and prosperity of the country. He had no hesitation in saying that no hearts more loyal to their Empress and more honest in their desire for the welfare of their fellow-men existed than those which beat in the breasts of the Mussulman friends around them. He had to propose that they should drink "Prosperity to

the Mohammedan Anglo-Oriental College," coupled with the names of the president and the members of the Fund Committee.

The toast was honoured, and Mr. Syed Mahmud again responded, apologising for a second address on the ground that the president could not speak English. He observed that the new college owed its origin entirely to the endeavours of a few enlightened Mussulmans, who had taken special care and trouble to study not only the present politics of the country, but also the past history of the empire. They had known, as indeed every Mohammedan of observation must know, that at the time when the greatest of Indian monarchs ruled at Delhi—when his court was renowned all over the world for its magnificence—when Jehangir was called the Just, and Shahjahan the Magnificent, and when Akbar was called the Great,—the best of good government was nothing compared with the present state of things in India. They were aware that it was entirely due to the peace which the English nation had established in India, to the civilised means of travelling which machinery had introduced into the country, to the warm sympathy of those who held the reins of government, that success had been attained. The Committee felt, and all who were interested in the college shared their feelings, that the present movement among their body was really due to the same feelings which inspired the same advanced classes in England. On behalf of the Committee, of which he was a member, he had to offer the guests present most sincere thanks, and he had also to propose the toast of their healths. In doing so, he wished to give expression to the feeling of gratitude and friendship which he and his brother Mohammedans felt towards them. Their presence there that night meant more than joining merely in a social gathering. It meant that such of the English gentlemen as had been able to spare time to attend that meeting were fully aware of the object the Committee had in view, and were ready to give their help so far as lay in their power, and to be associated with them in their efforts to achieve success. He therefore proposed the health of the guests, coupled with the name of Mr. Keene.

The toast was drunk by the Mohammedans present; and Mr. Keene, in responding, expressed on behalf of

his fellow-guests his appreciation, not merely of the honour which had been done them by his learned friend Mr. Syed Mahmud, but of the measure of hospitality and courtesy with which they had been received that evening. There was one duty which he had to perform, and he felt that he must not shrink from it, however desirous he might be of resuming his seat. In drawing attention to the eminent services which had been rendered to society by Syed Ahmed Khan, he had the advantage which was due to a tolerably long acquaintance with the worthy Syed. It was now nearly twelve years since that he had the honour of being associated with that gentleman in the administration of justice in that very district, and he should not forget the assiduity, fidelity, and intelligence with which he had discharged his duties. Syed Ahmed's breadth of view and large-hearted charity were well known, and he (Mr. Keene) had sincere pleasure in seeing him gather the first-fruits of his harvest. A man with such a mind as he possessed was very likely to move the world. For that reason he believed that the very well-ordered ceremony they had that day witnessed was not merely the foundation of a school, but marked an epoch in the history of the country. After the Viceroy's graceful reply he did not feel justified in saying much upon the subject ; but this he must say, that what they had seen was as likely, as far as anything human could be predicted, to form the germ of a very wide and important movement that would live in history, and with it would live the name of the good and excellent man to whose unceasing devotion and labours it was indebted for its origin.

Syed Ahmed Khan, in reply, said : The enthusiam with which you have drunk my health fills me with feelings of a mixed nature. I feel obliged to you for the great honour you have done me—I feel sincerely happy that the events of to-day have passed off well ; but along with these feelings there is a consciousness that I am neither worthy of the honour you have done me, nor that the success which the Mohammedan Anglo-Oriental College has hitherto secured is due to my exertions to the extent you imagine. But, gentlemen, there is one thing which I admit sincerely and without any hesitation, and that is, that the college of

which the foundation-stone has been laid to-day has been for many years the main object of my life. Ever since I first began to think of social questions in British India, it struck me with peculiar force that there was a want of genuine sympathy and community of feeling between the two races whom Providence has placed in such close relation in this country. I often asked myself how it was that a century of English rule had not brought the natives of this country closer to those in whose hands Providence had placed the guidance of public affairs. For a whole century and more, you, gentlemen, have lived in the same country in which we have lived ; you have breathed the same air ; you have drunk the same water ; you have lived upon the same crops as have given nourishment to millions of your Indian fellow-subjects ; yet the absence of social intercourse, which is implied by the word friendship, between the English and the natives of this country, has been most deplorable. And whenever I have considered the causes to which this unsatisfactory state of things is due, I have invariably come to the conclusion that the absence of community of feeling between the two races was due to the absence of the community of ideas and the community of interests. And, gentlemen, I felt equally certain that, so long as this state of things continued, the Mussulmans of India could make no progress under the English rule. It then appeared to me that nothing could remove these obstacles to progress but education : and education, in its fullest sense, has been the object in furthering which I have spent the most earnest moments of my life, and employed the best energies that lay within my humble power. Yes, the college is an outcome to a certain extent of my humble efforts, but there are other hands whose assistance has not onlv been most valuable, but absolutely essential to the success of the undertaking ; and I feel sure that the honour of the success is due to them rather than to me. But, gentlemen, the personal honour which you have done me to-night assures me of a great fact, and fills me with feelings of a much higher nature than mere personal gratitude. I am assured that you, who upon this occasion represent the British rule, have sympathies with our labours ; and to me this assurance is very valuable, and a source of great happi-

ness. At my time of life it is a great comfort to me to feel that the undertaking which has been for many years, and is now the sole object of my life, has roused on one hand the energies of my own countrymen, and on the other it has won the sympathy of our British fellow-subjects and the support of our rulers ; so that when the few years I may still be spared are over, and when I shall be no longer amongst you, the college will still prosper, and succeed in educating my countrymen to have the same affection for their country, the same feelings of loyalty for the British rule, the same appreciation of its blessings, the same sincerity of friendship with out British fellow-subjects, as have been the ruling feelings of my life. Gentlemen, I thank you again for the honour you have done me, and sincerely reciprocate the good wishes you have so kindly expressed this evening.

CHAPTER XIV.

THE HISTORY OF THE COLLEGE CONTINUED—REPORTS OF THE COLLEGE—THE VISIT OF THE AMEER OF AFGHANISTAN—HIS TRENCHANT REMARKS—HIS STRONG WORDS OF ADVICE AND CAUTION.

The following interesting account of the institution of a Fellow's table at the College was given by the "Allygurh Institute Gazette":—

On Tuesday, March 2nd, 1886, a new feature was introduced into the Mahommedan College, Allygurh, namely, the institution of a Fellows' table. At this table, the Professors of the College, English and Mussulman, will dine together in the College dining-room, while the students dine at another table. At the same time no wine is allowed in the College dining-room. At the opening dinner, besides the Professors, there were present some members of the Committee, and Lieutenant-Colonel Graham, the old friend and fellow-worker with Syed Ahmed Khan. After dinner Mr. Beck proposed the toast "Success to the College," and with it coupled the name of the Honourable Syed Ahmed Khan, and said:—

Gentlemen, the toast I have to propose will, I am sure, be received with feelings so enthusiastic that the imperfections of my speech will be forgotten. I beg to propose the toast of the College, and to couple with it the name of the Honourable Syed Ahmed Khan

(cheers). You are well aware of the reason for which we have met here to-day—to inaugurate a Fellows' table in the College. It was one of my first wishes on coming to the College to see this institution set on foot, and to see the good English fashion of the Professors and teachers dining in hall with the students. I believe it imparts a feeling of solidarity to the institution. For we are an institution which cultivates not only the intellect but the sentiments. We make a demand on the affections of the people who come to reside in the College grounds. Twenty years ago the state of Mahommedan feeling as to dining with Englishmen was such that to-day's ceremony could not have taken place. By our Syed Sahib's labours this unsociable prejudice has been slackened, and we hope will soon altogether disappear. I suppose ours is the only College in India where an institution like this could exist. We take as our model the Universities of Cambridge and Oxford ; and more particularly the University of Cambridge, of which five of us here to-day are graduates. Since I have come here one other characteristic Cambridge institution has been introduced and is flourishing ; I mean the Union Club. Gentlemen, I beg to propose the toast of the Mohammedan Anglo-Oriental College and the Honourable Syed Ahmed Khan.

The toast was drunk with enthusiasm and loud cheers.

Syed Ahmed Khan warmly thanked Mr. Beck for the kind expressions with which he coupled his name with the toast of the College and those who heartily drank it, and proposed Mr. Beck's health with the following remarks :—

"No doubt I want a principal for the M.A.O. College ; but not a man who comes here only for salary. I require a man who comes for the sake of education ; not a man who would teach some barbarian boys as a tutor of monkeys, but a man who would teach our boys the lessons of good morals and social progress ; not one who would only teach them modern science and literature, but one who would help the nation which was once the most famous in the whole world, but now have lost their *position*. I am very happy that I got for principal our friend Mr. Beck as

I wanted. Now, my friends, I ask you to fill up your glasses with wine, not drinking wine, for by 'wine' I mean the wine of love, and drink the health of Mr. Beck."

This toast was warmly drunk with cheers.

After Mr. Beck's reply, Mr. Syed Mahmud rose and proposed the health of Colonel Graham. He said:—"Twenty years ago the Mahommedan community looked on education not as a means of improving their future welfare, but as a curse which would bring them to future ruin. My father then stood alone. No Englishman understood the significance of his movement or came forward to help him, with one exception. That exception was Colonel Graham. He came forward to my father with a young and generous heart such as England can produce. It is for this reason that I feel moved to enthusiasm in speaking to-night. I say that whenever you meet with an Englishman of generous heart, whose face glows with genuine enthusiasm for the good of his fellow-beings, then value him as my father values Colonel Graham. For they have always been as friends working hand in hand together. And then you need not be surprised that I feel some emotion in proposing Colonel Graham's health. However great the pleasure that may have been created in my father's heart to-night in seeing his early hopes take this concrete shape, in seeing so many students of the Mohammedan race joined together in fellowship and free communion with Englishmen, equally great is the pleasure of being able to take part in this gathering, for it is from free intercourse between the two races that the hope for India arises. We cannot dispense with the English sense of honour and English sense of duty. As regards education, I believe its progress is great according as Government aid is small. As far as I am concerned, it has been a sort of day-dream of my life that the most useful way in which intellectual energy can be spent in India is, for a man who has been in other countries and watched the progress of other nations, to come back to his own country and devote himself to promote the education of his own countrymen. I will not say when, but I will say that I look forward to the time when I may be living among you as one of you, and helping in the practical work of

education. It will, therefore, always be a pleasure to me to look back upon this day, and to remember that this day we had Colonel Graham among us. For so long as my father's name shall be known in India and remembered by his countrymen so long will the name of Colonel Graham be known and honoured by the Mahommedans of this Empire."

Colonel Graham's health was then drunk with great enthusiasm, and Syed Ahmed Khan recited some Arabic verses which had been composed in honour of Colonel Graham.

Colonel Graham, in reply, said: Mr. Syed Mahmud and Gentlemen,—I have never been a High Court Judge, I have never been a barrister, and I have not spoken in public for twenty-two years. The last time that I made a speech was on the occasion of the opening of the Scientific Society at Ghazipur, in January, 1864, and therefore, when Mr. Mahmud told me a short time ago, before coming here, that he was going to propose my health this evening, I assure you I felt positively nervous, and I told him that unless I was allowed to put down some notes and look at them occasionally I should cut but a sorry figure. He said: "It is a free country, do what you like" (cheers). I did what I liked (cheers, and great laughter). I have to thank my old friend, Mr. Syed Mahmud, for the very kind terms in which he has alluded to me in his speech, and you, gentlemen, for the very kind manner with which you have received the toast. I must, however, be permitted to say that I cannot endorse all the encomia of myself which he has showered upon me, actuated thereto, as I cannot help thinking, by the friendship between us that commenced when he was a little boy in petticoats and I was a young lieutenant of seven years' standing. I may here tell you, gentlemen, that I this afternoon, whilst looking over Mr. Mahmud's photograph book, came upon his photograph, taken when I first met him, and this, gentlemen, is as he appeared then (great laughter). I little thought then that my boy friend would develope into the learned High Court Judge, or that, twenty-three years afterwards, he would propose my health to-night in such a splendid pile of buildings erected by my dear and honoured friend, his father, and on such a

happy occasion as the present. I will now, as it is a free country, proceed to look at my notes, but as I find I have not brought my spectacles they will not be of much use to me (great laughter). When Syed Mahmud and I first met there was no idea that this College would ever come into existence. It is almost exactly twenty years ago that I happened to stay with Syed Ahmed Khan here en route to Ajmere to take up the appointment of second in command of the Mairwara Battalion, and at that time the idea even of such a College had not dawned on the mind of its founder. Since then he has fought an uphill fight, one man against millions, flouted at and scouted by almost the entire Mahommedan community in India. He has now conquered, and his former enemies are to a large extent his enthusiastic friends. Gentlemen, as we are now due in another place, *i.e.*, the Debating Hall, I will not, even if I could, delay you any longer. I can only repeat that I have to thank Mr. Mahmud and yourselves most warmly for the great honour you have done me.

THE following is the annual report of the College, 1893—1894, and will prove of interest :—

The College appears to be doing well. In the annual report of 1893—4 (Public Instruction) it is stated that the average enrolment of students was as follows :—1891, 102; 1892, 96; 1893, 103; and 1894, 122 In 1895—6. Mr. Beck, the able and popular Principal of the College, wrote :— " A new era is opening before the University, which is beginning gradually to move in the direction of the English Universities of Oxford and Combridge." In athletics in 1894—5, the College did well, as at the inter-College tournament held at Allahabad, that year its students won 7 out of 9 first prizes, and the same number of second prizes, or a total of 14 out of 18. I have not been able to get the reports of 1895—6, or 1896—7, or 1897—8, no report having been received from the College Principal by the head of the Department in 1897—8. In the report of 1899—00, the head of the Department wrote :—" It is satisfactory to notice that, despite the losses suffered by the Mohammedan Anglo-Oriental College, Allygurh, in consequence of the deaths of Sir

Syed Ahmed* and Mr. Beck, the average enrolment has increased by 34. The Principal refers to the work done by the late Mr. Beck, whose untimely death, following close upon that of Sir Syed Ahmed, might have been fatal to the prosperity of the College. Mr. Beck's varied abilities, his singleness of purpose and his genuine sympathy with all honest educational effort had won for him the esteem, not only of the Mohammedan community, but of all who had the good fortune to know him. It is satisfactory to know that, notwithstanding the great loss which it has suffered, the College for which he worked so strenuously has made good progress during the year. His successor, Mr. Morison, reports, that materially it is this year stronger than it has ever been before; its finances have never been so prosperous, nor have there ever been so many Mohammedans students within its walls." Morally, says the Principal, it is gaining in the esteem of the Mussulman community; sympathy with its methods and aims is spreading to ever widening circles; and as some of the asperities of theological controversy have been softened, it is growing day by day more truly the hope and pride of the Mussulmans of Northern India.

The progress of the College between the years 1899 and 1903 is thus given in the official Government report: "The highest number of students during the time of the late Sir Syed Ahmed Khan, Bahadur, was 565, of which 329 were boarders. This was in 1895. After this the numbers commenced decreasing, and on the 31st March, 1898, four days after Sir Syed's death, there were only 343 students on the roll, of which 234 were boarders. Two months after, there was a further decrease of 40, but ever since the year 1899, the numbers have steadily increased, till in 1903, the total number on the rolls are 703, of which 531 are boarders; thus showing that after Sir Syed's death the total increase was 360, of which 297 are boarders and 63 day scholars; and, if more accommodation had been available the number would have been still higher by about 100, as for want of room a number of students were refused admission. It is interesting to note that the students are not from one province, but come from

* Sir Syed Ahmed died in March, 1898.

every province in India. Mr. L. Tipping writes: 'We have in our boarding houses students from every part of India. The United Province and the Punjab, of course, supply the bulk of students; but we have also many from the Central Provinces, from Bengal, from Bombay, from Madras (in increasing numbers), from Sindh, from Kathiawar, and beyond the borders of India, from Burmah, from Somaliland, Persia, Beluchistan, Arabia, Uganda, Mauritius, and Cape Colony.' There is another matter worthy of being noted, which is, that our College, though a Mohammedan College, opens its doors to all castes and classes. The Hindus have also taken a fair share in education. . . . Of Mohammedans who have graduated in the various Indian Universities a considerable portion belong to Allygurh. . . . In the five years ending 1903, very great progress has been made in the College buildings; four new rooms have been added to the school; seven rooms, as also one large hall, to the Denton Court, thirteen rooms to the Pucca Barracks; two large classrooms on either side of the Strachey Hall have been completed, as also a large portion of the eastern compound wall. The three domes of the mosque have been finished, and the MacDonnell Boarding-house, towards which the Government have very kindly given Rs.20,000, has been commenced on, and the work is being rapidly pushed on towards completion. Further, the foundation of the Curzon Hospital, for which a sum of Rs.18,000 has been laid."

In the "General Report on Public Instruction" for the year ending 31st March, 1908, the headmaster of the Mohammedan Anglo-Oriental Collegiate School, Allygurh, deplores the fact that "The work in our school can never be placed on a satisfactory footing unless this work can be done in a building adapted for school purposes." The constant postponement of the construction of a new building, for which a Government grant of Rs.20,000 was given in 1906-7 will lead to complication within the University and the Department before long, for the present condition of things is very unsatisfactory.

With regard to "Hostels," the report says: "The Mohammedan Anglo-Oriental Collegiate School, as is

natural at an institution which has been one of the chief pioneers of the hostel system in these provinces, is unusually well provided. . . . The so-called 'English Boarding House,' in which a fairly close approximation to the English boarding school system has been attained, is an admirable institution and quite unique."

C. F. DE LA FORSE, M.S.,
Director of Public Instruction,
United Provinces.

Allahabad, 20*th October*, 1908.

With regard to the visit of the Ameer of Afghanistan to the New College, "The Daily Telegraph" said as follows :—

The one Indian event which at present eclipses all others in interest is the Ameer's tour. His Majesty is revealing a breadth of view and a keenness of discrimination hardly to be looked for in the ruler of a kingdom hitherto distinguished for its fierce and successful resistance to Western influence. His visit is, of course, strictly one of courtesy, and is not directly concerned with politics. It may be noted, says the "Pioneer," that the exact words used by the Ameer when first meeting the Viceroy had a significance which was unmistakable. Lord Minto expressed pleasure at meeting him, and the Ameer, speaking in English, said, "I also am very glad to meet you in the country which is the first friend of my country and myself." The phrase "first friend" in Persian means closest and highest friend, in whom absolute confidence is placed in all circumstances. The use of it by the Ameer in conversation showed what is his view of the friendship subsisting between the British Government and himself. The Ameer visited Delhi while the festival of the Bakr-id was being held. The slaughter of kine by Indian Mohammedans during that Id has frequently in the past led to serious trouble with Hindus, and the Government have had to interfere in order to regulate the custom. The Mohammedans of Delhi proposed to slaughter one hundred cows to celebrate the Ameer's participation in the festival, but on this becoming known to his Majesty he immediately expressed his

strong disapproval. He had come to India, he said, to see the country and all its people, without distinction of race or creed, and he would not countenance anything which might cause strife. He could not command that no cows should be killed in Delhi, but he suggested that goats should be substituted, as thus no offence would be caused to Hindus. Otherwise he would not participate publicly in the Id. The Mohammedans of Delhi accepted this suggestion. This consideration for Hindu feeling on the part of the Ameer should have a marked effect all over India when it becomes known.

When the Ameer visited the Mohammedan College at Allygurh he amazed the trustees by arguing with them on questions of religion. Although good Mohammedans, the trustees are not priests, and were not a little disconcerted by the Royal posers. They took him to the library and showed him copies of the Koran and various religious works. He exhibited impatience here, though not unamiably.

"I came not to see books," he said; "I came to see boys."

"But this is the Holy Koran," they pointed out.

"Because your father left a copy of the Rubaiyat on the family bookshelf are you therefore a Persian poet?" cried the Ameer. "I know what is in the pages of these books. I want to know what is in the minds of those who read them."

They understood then, and word went forth in all directions accordingly. The Ameer listened to lectures on various subjects, including Mohammedan theology. It was this that attracted him most. "May I put one or two questions to the boys?" he presently asked. Assent being readily given, his Majesty plunged for a solid hour into a spiritual catechism. "What are the five duties of a Mohammedan?" he began, and from boy to boy he carried his interrogations over the field of Islamic divinity. The last of the hundred and one tests was addressed haphazard to a boy who chanced to be specially qualified to meet it. "Recite something from the Holy Koran," said the Ameer. "What?" asked the boy; "Anything," the Ameer replied. "Anything you know by heart." The boy, an accomplished performer, began a sweet, plaintive chant that immediately brought tears to the Ameer's eyes. As the boy

proceeded, big drops coursed down the Ameer's cheeks. He moved softly away. Later the Ameer, ascertaining that there were Shiah Mohammedans as well as Sunni Mohammedans among the college students, said, "Let me see the Shiahs also at their theological studies. I am a Sunni, but I wish this." They led the way into another room, and the Shiah teacher was introduced. "Teach," said the Ameer, shortly. The man obeyed. "Now listen to me, you students," the Ameer said. "You are young. Remember my words even when you are grown old. You have heard people say that the Ameer of Afghanistan is a Sunni bigot. Because I am a Sunni must I therefore be a bigot? Let me ask you a question. You who are Shiahs, do you prefer Hindus to Sunnis? No. Do you think I who am a Sunni prefer Hindus to Shiahs? No. Well now, you have just read in the newspapers that I prohibited the proposed cow-killing at the Bakr-id at Delhi, out of consideration for the religious susceptibilities of the Hindus. If I have that much kindness for the Hindus, can you believe that I have less kindness for the Shiahs? I ask you from this time forth not to believe that I am a Sunni bigot. In Afghanistan I have among my subjects Sunnis, Shiahs, Hindus, and Jews, and I have given to all of them full religious liberty. Is that bigotry? But this I must add. I can never consent to allowing the Shiahs to abuse and revile the three Khalifs. If it is bigotry to interfere with that I am a bigot"

An immense audience assembled in the Strachey Hall of the college to hear an address presented to the Ameer. A Persian copy was read out in a loud voice. It related the chequered history of the college, and was inordinately long. Before the end was reached the Ameer, who was sitting on a silver throne, stopped the recital, saying bluntly, "I have already read it in private; do not waste any more time." Then his Majesty called up his interpreter, and speaking loudly in fluent Persian alternately with the interpreter, who phrase by phrase rendered the speech into Urdu, delivered a remarkable oration: "I have heard many strange things about this college. I have heard many good things; I have heard many bad things. I have heard more bad things than

good things. I came here to find out the truth for myself. I never trust reports at second hand. I have to-day searched into the matter thoroughly. What do I find as the result of all these laborious investigations? I find that those who have maligned this college were liars. I repeat the word, liars. I repeat it again, liars. To Allah I offer my deepest thankfulness that these students are in religion sound and in manners perfect. Henceforth the man who will be most zealous to silence the tongues of those who speak ill against this college will be myself" (loud cheers, which the Ameer checked by holding up his hand). "There is, I am told, a violent prejudice among many Indian Mohammedans against that particular kind of education which we call European education. What folly is this. Listen to me. I stand here as the advocate of Western learning. So far from thinking it an evil I have founded in Afghanistan a college called the Habibia College, after my own name, where European education is to be given as far as possible on European lines. What I do insist on, however, is that religious education should come first. Religious education is the foundation on which all other forms of education must rest. Subject to this condition I say again that I am a sincere friend and well wisher of Eastern education" (loud cheers, during which the interpreter, who had previously seen the Ameer raise a hand for silence now did likewise), but the Ameer said, "No; let them applaud that as much as they like." His Majesty announced, in conclusion, that he had decided to endow the college with an income of Rs.6,000 (£400) per annum in perpetuity, and to make an immediate cash present of Rs.20,000 (£1,333).

The special correspondent of the "Civil and Military Gazette" telegraphed as follows: When the Ameer drove away from the grand military review at Agra he is reported to have delivered himself as follows to some of his principal Sirdars: "Look you. You told me that mine was the finest army in the world. You assured me that Afghan soldiers greatly excelled the soldiers of the Indian Empire or the soldiers of the Russian Empire. You almost persuaded me that my forces outweighed the Indian and Russian forces combined. What saw you just now? Ha, you are dumb!

Do Kabul troops look so? Do they march so? Do they drill so? Do they muster in such like strength? Yet this is not the army of India. It is not even the flower of India's army. It is but a single division out of nine such. And the whole army of India, I now learn, is but a fraction of the total military strength of the British Empire. And the whole army of the British Empire itself, I further find, is one of the smallest among the armies of the world's Great Powers. What? Have you naught to say? Look to it, I shall require your answer anon."

CHAPTER XV.

SYED AHMED IN THE VICEREGAL COUNCIL—THE DEKKHAN AGRICULTURISTS RELIEF BILL—EDUCATION COMMISSION—VISIT FROM SIR SALAR JANG—EDUCATION COMMISSION IN THE NORTH-WEST—VISIT TO THE PANJAB.

IN 1878, Syed Ahmed was, by Lord Lytton, made a member of the Viceroy's Council, an appointment which crowned his long and honourable career. The speech made by the great Duke of Wellington on the occasion of the dinner given to Sir John Malcolm by the Board of Directors, on the occasion of Sir John's appointment to the Government of Bombay, by substituting Hindustan for England and Mohammedan for Englishman, reads thus, and is most applicable to Syed Ahmed's appointment to Council: "A nomination such as this operates throughout the length and breadth of Hindustan. The youngest Mohammedan sees in it an example he may imitate, a success he may attain. The good which the country derives from the excitement of such feelings is incalculable." Syed Ahmed remained in Council for two years, and was for the second time appointed by Lord Ripon in 1880. He was thus four years altogether in Council. Amongst his speeches I select two, one on the Dekkhan Agriculturists Relief Bill, and the other on Vaccination:—

My Lord,—I agree with the honourable member in his motion that the Bill should be referred to a Select Committee.

It may be accepted as an indisputable principle that special laws should only be introduced to meet special cases. The disturbances in the Dekkhan, which have given rise to this Bill, revealed the existence of considerable distress among the agricultural classes. When the demand for Indian cotton fell off, the prices of all agricultural produce fell ; and the fund out of which the agriculturists had to meet the increased revenue, and the debts which they had contracted, became insufficient for that purpose. Credit could no longer be procured ; and the *raiyats*, whether instigated by disloyal persons or of their own motion, commenced to attack and plunder the houses of money-lenders, and especially of the class of Marwaris, who, being strangers, were particularly obnoxious to them. It does not appear from the evidence of the rioters taken by the Commission that these men complained of the action of the civil courts. Many of them asserted that they were not in debt, and others that they had not been sued for their debts ; but, seeing that the object of the rioters was not only plunder but the recovery of bonds, it seems manifest that there had been a refusal of credit, and, in all probability, threats of proceedings in court for the recovery of outstanding debts. It also appears that, by reason of a scanty and uncertain rainfall, the productive powers of the districts are usually uncertain, and have for some years been abnormally small.

My lord, no doubt a case has been made out for the application of special measures of relief, and I fully admit that that relief should take the form of a law providing facilities for the release of debtors from debts which they can have no hope of discharging, and which, while they remain subject to them, deprive them of the ordinary motives for exertion—the attainment of something more than bare livelihood.

But, my lord, while it is desirable to give greater facilities to the *raiyats* of the Dekkhan, whose ruin has been accomplished by unforeseen circumstances, to free themselves from debts which paralyse their industry, care must be taken that the remedies are such as will

not deter the people from having recourse to them, nor impair the credit which is ordinarily given to agriculturists, and without which they would be unable to meet the demand for revenue, or to sustain themselves from harvest to harvest.

The requirements of the present Bill as to registration appear to me so onerous, that they will operate to deter persons from committing their transactions to writing. Registration affords a very doubtful proof of the payment of money. It is a common experience in this country that money paid in the presence of the registration officer is in part or wholly returned when the parties leave the presence of the registrar. It is rarely denied that a transaction has taken place; but if a dispute arises, it is as to the amount received.

The portion of the Bill which relates to conciliation also deserves serious consideration. The Bill provides for the appointment of conciliators, who, having invited the parties to attend, are to use their best endeavours to induce them to agree to an amicable settlement. Now the matter on which the parties are supposed to be at variance is not a mere dispute arising out of domestic or friendly relations, in which the impartiality of a stranger or the influence of a neighbour can be hopefully introduced, to persuade the parties to make mutual concessions; and therefore I am not hopeful that this provision will be of practical use. No doubt a revenue officer or a police officer could bring influences to bear on creditors which would induce them altogether to forego their claims; but I need hardly express my conviction that the Government of India would altogether discountenance the exercise of any such influence; and I have no doubt the Council, in order to avoid even the apprehension of its exercise, will see fit to introduce a provision in the Bill prohibiting the appointment as conciliator of any officer exercising revenue or police functions.

On the other hand, the attendance before the conciliator will put the parties to considerable inconvenience. The conciliator can only "invite" them to attend; and if the defendant does not attend, he may adjourn the case for an indefinite time and as often as he pleases. A claimant may have to waste any number of days to obtain relief in the most trifling case; and there is no provision to secure him compensation.

My lord, in my judgment there is more reason to expect that a creditor will abate his claims when the parties are brought face to face in a public court of justice, than at a private sitting held by a conciliator; but if it is resolved that an experiment be made, at least provisions should be introduced to secure the appointment of conciliators to whom all parties can resort with equal confidence, and to restrict adjournments.

My lord, I now come to the provisions relating to the procedure in the civil courts; and before I offer any remarks upon them, I must defend my countrymen from some imputations which have been, I think unfairly, cast on them, and received as true without sufficient inquiry. It is said they are prone to litigation. In those provinces in which I have acquired experience, I have found no facts to warrant this conclusion. Looking to the numbers of the population and their innumerable transactions resulting in credit, the number of suits for the recovery of debt will compare not unfavourably with the statistics of any other civilised country. Creditors rarely sue their debtors unless a dispute has arisen, or unless they desire, by obtaining a decree, to secure an advantage over other creditors. Nor is it true, as has been frequently asserted, that the village moneylender generally desires to acquire the land of his debtor. He looks for the return of his money principally to the crop raised by the labour of his debtor, and takes a mortgage to prevent the debtor's making away with the crop, or defeating his claim in favour of another money-lender. In the hands of the money-lender, who cannot himself cultivate, the land is worth only the rent a tenant could give for it.

Again, in a large majority of cases the claims brought are just, and the defendants do not seek to evade them by unjust defences. I do not mean to say that there are not in this country, as elsewhere, extortionate usurers and persons who advance false claims in courts of justice, and also debtors who have recourse to fraud to defeat just claims; but I believe—and I have seen no proof to the contrary—that the civil courts have, in the ordinary course of their procedure, not failed in this country more than elsewhere to detect fraud and defeat

its intended consequences. In fact, our acquaintance with such frauds is derived chiefly from the investigations of courts of civil justice.

I would also observe that in this country, where opportunities for small investments rarely present themselves except in the shape of loans on the security of land, there is a large number of persons who are not professional money-lenders, but who invest their savings in such securities, and almost universally charge no higher interest than the usual rate in the market. The first deviation from the ordinary procedure which I find in the Bill, is the compulsory enforcement of the attendance of the defendant. My lord, if I am right in supposing that in the majority of cases the claim is just, it follows that in the majority of cases in which the defendant does not appear, it is because he knows the complaint is just, and does not desire to lose the labour of several days, possibly at a critical season for his crop, and incur the expense of going to and from and attending the court. It would perhaps be sufficient to require the court to exercise the power it already possesses, of enforcing the attendance of the defendant only in those cases in which, on looking into the account, it sees reason to believe the claim is fraudulent or extortionate. The rule prescribed in the Bill appears to me calculated to injure rather than benefit the majority of defendants.

The provisions of the Bill which direct the court to go into the history of the case from the commencement of the transactions, I think also require modification. A definite limit of time should be prescribed for reopening statements and settlements of accounts. The provisions of section 12, requiring the court to search for a defence " on the ground of fraud, mistake, accident, undue influence " (whatever that expression may mean), " or otherwise," are calculated to encourage defendants to set up false defences, and to support them with false evidence ; and for this reason they call for very serious consideration. Nor can I give my consent to the provisions of section 15, forcing an arbitration on parties whether they consent to it or not. Competent and impartial arbitrators are rarely to be found in villages ; and it is one of the acknowledged privileges of British citizenship, that for the vindication of right recourse

may be had to judges of whose competency and impartiality their selection by the State is a guarantee. I am also unable to agree with the principle upon which section 16 of the Bill is based. The provisions of that section appear to me to be contrary to Hindu law as administered on this side of India, and to general equity. If a Hindu dies leaving assets, then *whoever* takes his assets, in whatever degree he may be related to the deceased, and even if he be a stranger, is liable to satisfy the debts of the deceased to the extent of the assets, and, where such debts bear interest, with interest. This rule is common to the English and Mohammedan as well as to the Hindu law. The Hindu law does, indeed, *impose a moral obligation* on the descendants of the deceased person to pay his debts, and when the descendants are related to the deceased in the first degree, with interest; but this obligation, which has not the force of law, is not enforced by the courts on this side of India, and ought, I think, in no case to be enforced to the injury of *bonâ fide* creditors of the descendants of the deceased.

In section 20, which provides that a debtor owing less than fifty rupees, who is unable wholly to pay the debt, should be discharged on payment of a portion, it appears to me necessary to specify what portion he is to pay—whether it be so much as he is able or a percentage; but this point will no doubt receive the attention of the Committee.

The provisions of the Bill tending to prevent the employment of Vakils appear to me to be of very doubtful expediency. Having exercised judicial functions for many years, I am bound to say the courts receive considerable assistance from Vakils, and that the more ignorant the suitor is, the less probability is there he will be able to explain his case in the confusion he experiences in a court of justice, as well as he can to his adviser outside the court. I would prefer to see provision made for the employment of Government pleaders, to appear on behalf of debtors in all cases, rather than discountenance the employment of pleaders at all.

With regard to appeals, which are entirely prohibited in the Bill, I admit that they entail evils, in that they prolong litigation and increase expense; but it seems to

me better to experience these evils than the greater evil of imperfect justice. Cases triable by the Courts of Small Causes ordinarily present very simple issues, and do not call for the intervention of a superior court; but questions relating to land are far more complicated, and involve frequently questions on which the law is not well settled. I can see no reason why appeals should in these cases be refused in the Dekkhan when they are allowed elsewhere. Revision is, at the best, an imperfect substitute for the right of appeal.

For similar reasons, I consider the expediency of introducing special rules of limitation, proposed in the Bill, open to serious doubt. If it is desirable in the interest of the debtor to extend the period of limitation for the recovery of debts, the benefit should be given to agriculturists everywhere, and indeed to debtors of all classes.

The provisions of the amended Code of Civil Procedure relating to insolvency will afford sensible relief —and relief that was needed—to agricultural and other debtors in all parts of the country. The insolvency provisions in the present Bill go beyond the general law. I am not prepared to dissent from them on that account—for the circumstances have been shown to justify special remedies—but the provision respecting the delivery of property in lieu of cash is anomalous. It will not, I think, be acceptable to either party, nor does it appear called for.

With regard to section 35 of the Bill, I have only to observe that I can see no reason why a fraudulent insolvent in the Dekkhan should be exposed to less penalties than a fraudulent debtor elsewhere.

My lord, there is one more point to which I wish to invite the Council's attention. Admitting, as I do, that the exigencies of the case require special legislation, I entertain a serious doubt whether the rules framed in the Bill should be enacted more than as a temporary measure. Perhaps the requirements of the case would be sufficiently met if the operation of the proposed law is limited to a certain number of years. Some of the most important provisions of the Bill relating to interest strongly resemble the laws against usury which for many years were prevalent in this country. I had some share in administering them. They were found

ineffective; they encouraged fraud; they operated as a hardship upon the borrower,—and as such were repealed both in England and in this country. The revival of any rules of law which limit the rate of interest or empower courts to interfere in the terms of private contract, cannot be regarded by me as other than a retrograde step—a step which, if justified by extreme emergency, should at any rate not be allowed permanently to affect the law even in a small portion of the country.

My lord, so far as the Bill tends to relieve the Dekkhan *raiyats* from their present embarrassments, it will have my cordial support; but should the provisions of the Bill go to deprive them of this privilege, and so far as such provisions tend to hinder the ordinary transactions of the people and render the recovery of debts incurred hereafter uncertain, I should be reluctant to support it.

I am convinced that no law can be framed which will do away with the necessity of borrowing, or, so long as the recovery of loans is uncertain and fraught with difficulty, put a stop to exorbitant rates of interest. An experience of thirty-five years, during which I had the honour of serving as a judicial officer of the Government, induces me to say that all rules which aim at regulating the rate of interest on private loans, or which place difficulties in the way of their recovery, far from relieving, are injurious to the borrower, whose necessities compel him to evade the law by secret and collusive agreements of which the terms are more onerous because they cannot be enforced. The condition of the Indian *raiyats*, not only in the Dekkhan but in other parts of India, fully deserves consideration at the hands of the Government: perhaps in their pecuniary difficulties may be traced some of the causes which make famine so severe and oft-recurring a calamity. The question is undoubtedly momentous; and your Excellency's administration is to be congratulated upon having undertaken its solution. But, my lord, the solution, in my humble opinion, lies not in conferring anomalous privileges of protection against the demands of the moneylender, not in placing difficulties in the way of borrowing money, not in making the recovery of judgment debts dilatory or uncertain, but in provid-

ing the agriculturists of India with facilities for borrowing money on moderate interest, and in making the recovery of such loans speedy and certain.

In bringing forward his measure on Compulsory Vaccination for the second reading, Syed Ahmed said :—

My lord, the Vaccination Bill, which I had the honour of introducing into the Council on the 30th of September last, has been published in the "Gazette of India," and also in the local Gazettes, in English as well as in the vernacular languages. The local governments have submitted their opinions and those of local officers as to the expediency of the proposed legislation. Some of the municipal committees and societies have commented on the measure. All these opinions, remarks, and papers are now before the Council.

My lord, on the first occasion when I advocated in the Council the expediency of making vaccination compulsory by legislation, I said: "I have carefuly considered the difficulties which exist in putting such a law into practice, and I am aware that there are some parts of India which have not yet reached the stage when the enforcement of such measures would be advisable. The proposed Bill will therefore not be generally compulsory. It is not meant to be applicable to those parts of India which possess local legislatures, and its operation will be confined to such municipalities and military cantonments in British India as the local governments in their discretion deem fit to place under the proposed law." I further remarked that the object of the proposed Bill was to provide a law to enable the local governments of those provinces which do not possess their own legislatures, to make vaccination compulsory in such places as they consider fit for the promulgation of such a law. The difference of opinions among the various local officers in regard to the expediency of rendering vaccination compulsory is due to the variety of local circumstances which I had in view when framing the Bill now before the Council.

My lord, the legislation which I have proposed meets the objections of those who oppose it and the wishes of those who support it, since one of the most essential

features of the Bill is that its adoption is permissive. If the Bill is referred to a Select Committee, I shall be glad to adopt any alterations which the Select Commitee may consider necessary, in accordance with Dr. Cunningham's suggestion, to restrict the power of the local governments in respect of enforcing the proposed law.

My lord, it has been said, as a reason against the passing of the Bill, that vaccination is gradually spreading, and that the prejudices of the people against it are giving way to the beneficial influence exercised by local officers. The statement, my lord, on which this argument is based, is no doubt correct; but I may be permitted to say that the cirucumstance, far from furnishing an argument against the Bill, strongly supports its policy. Even the greatest opponents of the proposed legislation do not maintain that the object in view is not desirable. The strongest argument against the proposed law is, that there are still many amongst the people of this country who look upon vaccination either as unnecessary or objectionable. But in a matter of this kind the discussion resolves itself into the simple question whether the indifference or opposition of a part of the community should be allowed to deprive the whole community of advantages which the truths of science and the conclusions of actual experience have made undeniable.

My lord, I am myself a native of India, brought up under the same social circumstances and prejudices as those of my countrymen whose voice is raised against the proposed legislation. I can emphatically say that the hatred which once existed against vaccination is a thing of the past, at least in the more advanced parts of British India. The opposition to vaccination, whereever it exists, is due either to the manner in which some of the underlings of the department conduct themselves, or to defects of system. Such being my views, I have no hesitation in saying that, if the causes of the opposition are removed by introducing better organisation and more effective supervision, by providing facilities, and by obtaining the co-operation of influential native gentlemen, vaccination will become more popular every day. But this result cannot be achieved without a legislative measure such as I have ventured to propose.

The highest castes of Hindus have accepted vaccination. There is a memorial in favour of the Bill before the Council sent up by forty-eight of the most respectable Hindu citizens of the ancient city of Benares, a place which in the eyes of orthodox Hindus is still unsurpassed in sanctity and religious learning. To those forty-eight names I may be allowed to add that of Raja Shimbhu Narain Singh Bahadur, a gentleman of great influence and high position in that city, and a Brahmin by caste. In a communication addressed to me he has strongly supported the policy of the Bill, and has expressed his wish that it may pass into law. It is true, as has been urged by some of the opponents of the Bill, that there are still in India many temples consecrated to the worship of *Máta Debi*, the goddess of smallpox, and that large numbers of people resort to these places of worship. But I feel sure that vaccination has never been regarded as interfering with the worship of this goddess, or any of the ceremonies connected with it. The parents of vaccinated children perform the ceremonies of worshipping *Máta-Debi* without the smallest feeling that a resort to the prophylactic against the disease in any way interferes with their religion. Inoculation was not unknown in India; it was called *chhopa*, while vaccination has ever since its introduction received the name of *gau-than-ṣitla*, which, literally translated, means cow-udder-smallpox. The name itself suggests the source from which the lymph was obtained.

I should have dwelt more upon this point had I not felt that a full answer to the objection is to be found in a sentence which his Honour the Lieutenant-Governor of the Panjab has recorded with regard to the Society's argument. His Honour observes :—

"There is one point which is not noticed by the Society, and which has a practical bearing on vaccination,—namely, that a child of the age at which vaccination is practised on it is not, according to Hindu law, liable to ceremonial impurity, and therefore, even though vaccine may be impure to Hindus, the child would not be made impure by it."

My lord, the practice of vaccination has gained footing in some native States also. I can speak of two Hindu States in the Panjab. The history of Patialla,

written by its able minister, informs us that vaccination was introduced in the State in the Hindu year 1933, corresponding with the year 1876. The late Maharaja had his own son vaccinated, and all the young children of the minister's family were also vaccinated. I have trustworthy information that, in the State of Patialla, no less than 55,618 children were vaccinated in three years. Similarly, in the State of Kapurthala no less than 4,394 children were vaccinated in one year.

My lord, I now come to another important subject connected with the Bill—namely, the prohibition of inoculation. The majority of opinions which have been received are in favour of prohibitive provisions in this respect. When one member of a family is inoculated, others are also obliged to undergo the operation as a protective measure; and the appearance of smallpox is its necessary consequence. The reasons for prohibiting inoculation make it all the more necessary that every measure should be adopted to make vaccination prevalent; for the State should not deprive the people of one remedy without supplying facilities for adopting a better and a more efficacious substitute.

My lord, I wish to mention the principles which have been prominent in my mind in framing the Bill. I have endeavoured to make its provisions as simple as possible, to provide facilities for their being carried out, to avoid everything likely to give offence to the feelings of the people, and lastly, to encourage, as far as possible, the co-operation of native gentlemen in giving effect to the provisions of the proposed law. No one can hold stronger views than I do, that no measure relating to the welfare of the public should be adopted by the State without due regard to the feelings of those to whom the measure relates. The tenderest regard to the prejudices of the people does not prohibit the proposed legislation. The British rule in India has, for its guiding principles, the alleviation of human suffering and the protection of the weak and the helpless. Those principles have abolished the sacrifice of human lives at the altar of superstition, and put an effective check upon female infanticide. Who can deny that those evils were time-honoured institutions, and had become fixed habits of a portion of the population of India? Who can maintain that the State was not justified in adopting

decisive measures to remove those evils? Who can maintain that the State in adopting those measures acted in opposition to the principles of toleration or humanity? And, my lord, I feel that in advocating the measure now before the Council, I am not asking the Legislature to act contrary to the principles upon which it has always acted. Nor am I asking the Legislature to interfere with the religious prejudices of the people. I am not seeking the abolition of any of their time-honoured customs. I am asking the Legislature to interfere in a matter which, to thousands of innocent and helpless children, is a matter of life and death. The ravages of smallpox are not now involved in uncertainty. They are terrible both in their extent and their regularity. An instalment of a hundred thousand human lives is paid every year to the malady; and, in view of this awful fact, I must confess that I find it difficult to conceive how any vague apprehensions of opposition, or the existence of unfounded prejudices, can have greater weight than the absolutely certain fact of the enormous loss of human life which the absence of a well-organised system of compulsory vaccination involves. The British rule, to whose guardianship the lives of millions are intrusted, has always felt itself called upon to adopt measures for preventing the loss of human life, and I feel that the legislation proposed by me, if sanctioned by the Legislature, would only be an addition to the numerous instances of the policy of humanity which the British rule in India has always pursued.

My lord, I move that the Bill be referred to a Select Committee consisting of the Honourable Messrs. Stokes and Thompson, the Honourable Maharaja Jotindra Mohan Tagore, and the Honourable Messrs. Colvin and Grant, and the mover.

Whilst in Council, Syed Ahmed was examined as a witness by the Education Commission, of which he and his son Syed Mahmud were members. His examination was very voluminous, and his replies cover thirty-two printed pages. I shall give a brief *résumé* of his evidence. As regards the number of Government schools,

he thinks there is no necessity for an increase, but that the existing institutions are capable of affording instruction to a much larger number of pupils, and that, therefore, every available means should be adopted for improving their efficiency, and for making them more useful and popular. He does not think the present system of inspection adequate.

Syed Ahmed says that he had an opportunity of inspecting many schools when he was a member of the Educational Committee at Allygurh. He has occasionally had reason to doubt the correctness of school registers, and found that it was not unusual to enter names of mythical students in them. He once set out to inspect a village school which used to send regular reports of its working, and it appeared that a reasonable number of students were reading in it. But on reaching the village he was surprised to find that there was no school at all, that the place which was represented as the school building was no other than a shed for buffaloes, and that the contents of the registers and reports were altogether fictitious. He is of opinion that the standard of education fixed for vernacular schools is not popular, and certainly not suitable. The standard of literature taught in these schools is hardly sufficient to enable a student to acquire tolerable proficiency in subjects which are of use to him in his after-life. The degree of proficiency acquired in indigenous schools in this respect far surpasses that afforded by these schools. He thinks the regular study of arithmetic should, in vernacular primary schools, be supplemented by the indigenous method (*gur*), which is more practical. History ought also to be more thoroughly taught. As regards village schools, he thinks that they would be made more useful and popular by—1st, Re-

forming the courses of study, and raising the standard of literature; 2nd, By appointing such persons to be teachers as are popular, and possess the confidence of the people; 3rd, By fixing their salaries on a standard sufficient to make them appreciate their appointment; 4th, By securing the co-operation of respectable men in each division of a district in the cause of education. Syed Ahmed was strongly of opinion that the non-association of respectable natives in the work of education has been a great drawback and a political mistake. This was remedied, on Syed Ahmed's representation, many years ago, when native gentlemen were made members of the District Educational Committees.

In 1872, Syed Ahmed, in a note on education, wrote: "It is much to be regretted, however, that the native members of the said committees, when they sit with Europeans and the educational authorities in the same room, look more like thieves who have entered a gentleman's house for theft, than like bold advocates of an important cause. To remedy existing defects, Syed Ahmed would make the collector of each district, head of the vernacular instruction within his collectorate; he would abolish the inspectors and deputy-inspectors of schools, substituting for the latter a native deputy collector in each district as an assistant to the collector, the most influential men of the district to be members of the committee. The deputy collector would, under this system, inspect personally at least four times a-year all the vernacular schools in his district; while the sub-divisional (*perganah*) visitor would inspect his schools at least four times a-month, and report the results of each inspection to the committee. The other revenue officers would visit the schools when on tour. Each subdivision should have its educational committee, com-

posed of respectable residents, with the Tahsildar for its president; the entire management of the district schools—*i.e.*, increase or reduction in their number, selection of proper places for their establishment, &c., would rest with the district committee; and the income of these schools, derived from all sources, would be at its disposal, the committee to submit its budgets regularly to the Director of Public Instruction. English schools Syed Ahmed would not put under these committees, as he thinks that it would be prejudicial to those schools. As regards English education being essentially requisite for the interests of the people, Syed Ahmed in his evidence said :—

About thirty years have now elapsed since the despatch of 1854. During this period the condition of India has undergone a considerable change. In 1854, when the despatch was written, India was certainly in a condition which might justify our thinking that the acquisition of knowledge through the medium of the vernaculars of the country would be enough to meet our immediate wants. But now such is not the case. Vernacular education is no more regarded as sufficient for our daily affairs of life. It is only of use to us in our private and domestic affairs, and no higher degree of proficiency than what is acquired in primary and middle vernacular schools is requisite for that purpose; nor is more wanted by the country. It is English education which is urgently needed by the country, and by the people in their daily life. We see that an ordinary shopkeeper who is neither himself acquainted with English, nor has any English-knowing person in his employment, feels it a serious hindrance in the progress of his business. Even the itinerant pedlars and *boxwalas*, who go from door to door selling their articles, keenly feel the necessity of knowing at least the English names of their commodities, and of being able to tell their prices in English. It is high time that Government as well as the people should exert themselves to their

utmost in extending this *popular education*, if I may be allowed so to call it.

As regards the diffusion of Western arts and sciences through vernacular translations, &c., he said :—

In vernacular and English primary and middle schools, the object of which is to impart instruction up to that standard only, and not to prepare scholars for a higher standard of education, the interests of the country will no doubt be furthered by teaching the Western sciences to the standard laid down for those institutions in vernacular. But in English elementary schools, which have been established with the object of serving as a stepping-stone for higher education, the tuition of European sciences through the medium of the vernacular is calculated to ruin the cause of education.

I confess I am the person who had first entertained the idea that the acquisition of the knowledge of European sciences through the medium of the vernacular would be more beneficial to the country. I am the person who had found fault with Lord Macaulay's Minute of 1835 for exposing the defects of oriental learning, and recommending the study of Western science and literature, and had failed to consider whether the introduction of European sciences by means of the vernaculars would bring any advantage to the native community.

I did not confine my opinion to theory alone, but tried to put it into practice. I discussed the matter at various meetings, wrote several pamphlets and articles on the subject, and sent memorials to local and supreme Governments. A Society, known by the name of "The Scientific Society, Allygurh," was established for the very purpose, and it translated several scientific and historical works from the English language into the vernacular. But I could not help acknowledging the fallacy of my opinion at last. I was forced to accept the truth of what an eminent liberal statesman has said, that "what the Indian of our day wanted, whether he was Hindu or Mohammedan, was some insight into the literature and science which were the life of his own time, and of the vigorous race which were the repre-

sentative of all knowledge and all power to him." I felt the soundness and sincerity of the policy adopted by Lord William Bentinck when he declared that "the great object of the Government ought to be the promotion of European literature and science among the nations of India."

With reference to the question whether Government should support primary and secondary education, he said :—

As my personal opinion on this point is at variance with the public feeling, I may be allowed to give a sketch of both the views.

I am personally of opinion that the duty of Government, in relation to public instruction, is not to provide education to the people, but to aid the people in procuring it for themselves. But the public feeling seems to differ widely from this view. The people base their argument on the fact that in India all matters affecting the public weal have always rested with Government. They see no reason why the education of the people, which is also a matter of public weal, should not rest with Government. After a full consideration of the question in all its bearings, I have come to the conclusion that the native public cannot obtain suitable education unless the people take the entire management of their education into their own hands, and that it is not possible for Government to adopt a system of education which may answer all purposes and satisfy the special wants of the various sections of the population. It would therefore be more beneficial to the country if Government should leave the entire management of their education to the people, and withdraw its own interference. The public opinion is not in favour of this view. A very able and intelligent native gentleman said to me some time ago that the idea that we should ourselves procure our education was an entire mistake; that the use of the word *ourselves* in any national sense, with reference to the people of India, was out of place, for no nation could undertake any great work without the co-operation of all classes, high and low, whether in point of wealth or political and administrative power.

He added that the higher order of political and administrative power in India was held by Government and its European officers, and that those who benefited most by commerce in India were also Europeans; and therefore they formed in reality the most important section of the Indian population.

Apropos of this, I may be allowed to relate an incident which has happened to myself. At the time when the Mohammedan Anglo-Oriental College was established at Allygurh, I asked a European gentleman, holding a high office under Government, to grant some pecuniary aid to the institution. He replied that he was not bound to help us in the matter, that the institution was a child of ours and not his, and that he would rather be inclined to spurn it than to hug it with paternal affection.

Interrogated by his son, Syed Mahmud, as to whether religious prejudices alone have kept Mohammedans aloof from English education, or whether anything in their socio-political traditions has had the same effect, he replied :—

It may be briefly stated that the causes which have kept the Mohammedans aloof from English education may be traced to four sources,—to their political traditions, social customs, religious beliefs, and poverty. An insight into the political causes can be obtained by studying the history of the last two centuries. The Mohammedan public was not opposed to the establishment of British rule in India, nor did the advent of British rule cause any political discontent among that people. In those days of anarchy and oppression, when the country was in want of a paramount power, the establishment of British supremacy was cordially welcomed by the whole native community; and the Mohammedans also viewed this political change with feelings of satisfaction. But the subordinate political change which this transition naturally involved as a consequence, and which proved a great and unexpected blow to the condition of the Mohammedans, engendered in them a feeling of aversion against the British, and against all things relating to the British nation.

For the same reason they conceived an aversion for the English language, and for the sciences that were presented to them through the medium of that language. But this aversion is now declining in the same degree in which education is spreading among Mohammedans.

The Mohammedans were proud of their socio-political position, and their keeping aloof from English education may in some measure be ascribed to the fact that the Government colleges and schools included among their pupils some of those whom the Mohammedans, with an undue pride and unreasonable self-conceit and vanity, regarded with social contempt. They could never be brought to admit that sound and useful learning existed in any language except Arabic and Persian. They had given a peculiar form to moral philosophy, and had based it on religious principles, which they believed to be infallible; and this circumstance had dispensed, as they thought, with the necessity of European science and literature. I still remember the days when, in respectable families, the study of English, with the object of obtaining a post in Government service or of securing any other lucrative employment, was considered highly discreditable. The prejudice has now, however, much slackened.

The religious aspect of the question I have already described. The poverty of the Mohammedan community is only too obvious to require any comment. I am, however, of opinion that the above-mentioned socio-political causes, though still extant, have been mitigated to a considerable extent, and the Mohammedans are gradually freeing themselves of old prejudices, and taking to the study of English literature and science.

In re the absence of sympathy among European officials towards native endeavours for establishing educational institutions, he replied :—

I agree in the views of my friend which I have quoted, and have therefore given in my 31st answer an example of what personally happened to me. At the same time it is my opinion and belief that the Government and its high statesmen cordially desire our welfare and feel sympathy with us. But the

majority of those subordinate European officers who have the administration in the Mofussil in their hands, are careless of, and indifferent to, our education and enlightenment. There are, no doubt, some of them who go out of their way to show sympathy to us, and take a share in our endeavours by helping us in our work both by money and by other means. Towards such English officers we naturally feel gratitude from the bottom of our hearts. But there are also some European officers, though they are few, who strongly feel that the spread of education and enlightenment among natives, and especially among the Mussulmans, is contrary to political expediency for the British rule. This class of men dislikes natives educated in English, and regard them with anger and jealousy. Similarly, some officers of the Educational Department used to view the establishment of independent educational institutions with a jealous eye. But I am thankful to say that, at least in my part of the country, such is not the case at present. I may briefly state that the great majority of English officers believe that their duty is to do only their official work, and that they are not called upon to take any trouble about other matters connected with the needs of the country. They do not come into social relations with natives, and therefore they are seldom able to know the real and inner wants and needs of the native population. Thus, speaking generally, no real sympathy exists between European officers and the natives—I mean such sympathy as exists between two friends. I think this very unfortunate, at least for my countrymen; but I wish to say plainly that the blame does not rest entirely with either the English officers or the natives. I firmly believe that as soon as sincere friendly svmpathy is established between Englishmen and natives, schools and even colleges will begin to be established all over the country, and will cost Government no more than the grant-in-aid rules could easily allow. But I am sorry to confess that I do not think that much improvement in this respect can be expected for some years to come.

As regards the education of Mohammedan girls, he said :—

Before proceeding to answer the question, I beg leave to say that the general idea that Mohammedan ladies of respectable families are quite ignorant is an entire mistake. A sort of indigenous education of a moderate degree prevails among them, and they study religious and moral books in Urdu and Persian, and in some instances Arabic. In families of the better classes, there have been ladies in comparatively recent times who possessed a high degree of ability. The poverty of the Mohammedans has been the chief cause of the decline of female education among them. It is still a custom among the well-to-do and respectable families of Mohammedans to employ tutoresses (*Ustanis or Mullanis*) to get their girls instructed in the Holy Koran, and in elementary theological books in the Urdu language. Sometimes a father or a brother, or some other near kinsman, teaches them to write letters in Urdu, and occasionally imparts to them instruction in Persian books. To qualify them to read and write telegraphic messages, some boys have taught English to their sisters sufficient for the purpose ; and I know of two girls who can even write letters in English. I admit, however, that the general state of female education among Mohammedans is at present far from satisfactory. I cannot blame the Mohammedans for their disinclination towards Government girls' schools, and I believe that even the greatest admirer of female education among European gentlemen will not impute blame to the Mohammedans if he is only acquainted with the state of those schools in this country. I have also seen a few of the girls' schools in England. Were these institutions for a moment supposed to be just like those in India in every respect, would any English gentleman like to send his daughters for education to them? Certainly not. The question of female education much resembles the question of the oriental philosopher who asked whether the egg or the hen was first created. Those who hold that women should be educated and civilised prior to men are greatly mistaken. The fact is, that no satisfactory education can be provided for Mohammedan females until a large number of Mohammedan males receive a sound education. The present state of education among Mohammedan females is, in my opinion, enough

for domestic happiness, considering the present social and economical condition of the life of the Mohammedans in India. What the Government at present ought to do, is to concentrate its efforts in adopting measures for the education and enlightenment of Mohammedan boys. When the present generation of Mohammedan men is well educated and enlightened, the circumstance will necessarily have a powerful though indirect effect on the enlightenment of Mohammedan women, for enlightened fathers, brothers, and husbands will naturally be most anxious to educate their female relations. Any endeavours on the part of Government to introduce female education among Mohammedans will, under the present social circumstances, prove a complete failure so far as respectable families are concerned, and, in my humble opinion, will probably produce mischievous results, and be a waste of money and energy.

In May 1882, Sir Salar Jang paid Syed Ahmed a visit, and inspected the college, of which he was one of the visitors. He was received with every honour, and was very much pleased with what he saw. He made Syed Ahmed promise to pay him a visit at Hyderabad, and in September of the same year Syed Ahmed fulfilled his promise, staying with the minister for a month. During this time he had many long and important conversations with Sir Salar Jang, visited Bolarum with him, and had a big dinner given him by his host. Many of the nobles wished to entertain him at dinner, but he invariably begged them to give him the money that the dinners would cost, as donations to his college fund. They did so, and he carried off with him to Allygurh Rs.30,000! He is now (February 1885) meditating another visit to Hyderabad.

In August of 1882, the Hon. W. W. Hunter and the Education Commission held their first session in the North-Western Provinces at Allygurh. At a great

meeting held in the college, in reply to the addresses of the municipality, the college, and of fourteen societies and public bodies in these provinces, the Hon. W. W. Hunter, the President of the Commission, Syed Ahmed's old literary antagonist, in the course of his speech, said :—

Gentlemen, it is because this college in which we are now assembled forms the greatest and noblest effort ever made in India for the advancement of Mohammedan education, that the Commission determined to hold its first session for the North-Western Provinces at Allygurh. We hope that our presence here will be taken as our public tribute of admiration to this splendid example of self-help. A few more such examples of self-help, and there would be no need of Education Commissions in India. The other night I was taken to see the two historical monuments of Allygurh. We drove out to the solitary place where the silent moat and the deserted ramparts of Du Perron's fort coil their long length, in angular twists, across the plain. Then we visited the monument erected to the brave soldiers who fell in 1803. The monument stands by itself, remote from the habitations of men, with high jungle-grass around it, half choking the little path which leads to its entrance. On our way home, as we passed the Mohammedan college, I could not help thinking what a much nobler memorial of our age is this splendid pile of buildings in which we are now assembled. Those solitary relics out on the plain, with their pathetic narratives of ambition, endurance, and gallant effort, form the records of a time when, throughout the length and breadth of India, race hated race, and when each man's hand was raised against his neighbour. You, gentlemen, who have built this college, will bequeath a far nobler monument to posterity. You will leave behind you a magnificent memorial not of the discord, but of the reconciliation of races; a monument of beneficent energy, not of destructive force; and one which, unlike those poor erections of stone and earth which now lie so apart from the interests and the habitations of men, will

continue for ever a centre of the highest human efforts, vocal with young voices, and alive with the hopes and aspirations of young hearts. . . .

Gentlemen, this college at Allygurh not onlv provides an education for the Mohammedans of the North-Western Provinces, but it stands forth as an example to all India, of a Mohammedan institution which effectively combines the secular with the religious aspects of education ; and which, while recognising the special spiritual needs of the Mohammedan youth, bases its teaching on the truths of Western science, and is in tone and tendency thoroughly loyal to our Queen.

This is a noble work for a mortal to have done upon earth. And here beside me we see the brave and liberal-hearted man who, by twenty years of patient effort, has accomplished it. I believe that very shortly after the country had passed to the Crown, when men were still embittered by the bleeding memories of the catastrophe which preceded the transfer, it entered into the heart of our friend, the Honourable Syed Ahmed, to commence this great work of conciliation. During the first ten years, he bore with many disappointments, and made little visible progress with his self-assigned task. He had to give up some of his own views, to make fresh departures, to submit in silence to indifference and disapproval, to the cooling of old friends, and to the injurious babble of ignorant enemies. But he never for a moment lost heart. Slowly but surely his cause advanced. Men believed in him, for he believed in his work.

In 1870 a public Committee was formed, under his auspices, for the advancement of learning among the Mohammedans of India. The two objects of this Committee were : first, to ascertain the causes which prevented the Mohammedans from adequately availing themselves of the State schools ; second, to provide means by which the Mohammedans might be reconciled to a secular education that would tend to their advancement in life, and render them loyal subjects to their Sovereign.

This magnificent pile of buildings, with its staff of learned professors, and its crowded class-rooms of boys from every province of India, is the result. Its primary

aim was to procure the acceptance of European science and literature as the basis of Mohammedan education. It has accomplished this by scrupulously providing for the religious offices of the pious Mohammedan youth. In going round the college, I was struck by the sight of the Shia and Sunni praying-places side by side. Here, for the first time in the history of India, the Shia from Hyderabad in the south, and the Sunni from Delhi and the farthest limits of Bengal, come together for the common purpose of education, live together, study together, play together, and pray peacefully a little apart.

At the same time the Mohammedan founders of this strictly Mohammedan institution have thrown open their doors to the youth of all races and creeds. Among the 259 students, I find 57 Hindus, or nearly one-fourth of the whole. Christian and Parsi lads have also received a liberal education within its walls. The Allygurh College has to import an English principal, and at least one European professor, and to pay them at the high rate of European labour current in this country. Yet it offers an education and a school-life, modelled on the English public-school pattern, at about one-tenth of what practically costs an English boy to live at an English public school.

The teaching staff is both numerous and efficient. An English principal and professor of university reputation direct the labours of a body of eminent orientalists and teachers, of whom any seat of learning might feel proud. The building itself will, when complete, bear comparison with any educational institution in the world ; and in extent and magnificence of proportion, more than rivals the venerable piles at Oxford or Cambridge.

How has this great work been accomplished? In the first place, there was one man who placed a noble end before him, and who was willing to spend his life and his substance on its attainment. He has preserved, throughout the long years since its commencement, an unshaken belief that the work ought to be done. Belief begets belief. The Honourable Syed Ahmed believed in his work ; and the other benefactors of this college, both native and European, have given their subscriptions because they believed in Syed Ahmed. The

Government has more tardily, but in the end not less munificently, aided in the enterprise, because the Government has also found good cause to believe in Syed Ahmed. This college is a noble example to all India, not only of self-help, but of the power which an unswerving belief in a good cause exercises on the minds of men.

But, gentlemen, although the work has prospered greatly, much still remains to be done.

Men seek immortality in many ways. Some write books, others climb to high official rank, others seek the bubble reputation at the cannon's mouth. But it has always seemed to me that the most enviable fame on earth is that of the founder of a great seat of learning. One of the best-remembered incidents in an English public-school boy's life is Founder's Day. It was the great festival of the school-year, when boys and masters held holiday, to celebrate by speeches or dramas, and manly sports, and hospitality to those from without, and good cheer to those within, the day set apart in honour of the founder of the school. As time rolls on, I hope that this great college will hold a similar high festival. I hope that centuries after our generation, with its cares and hopes and ambitions, has passed away, the memory of Syed Ahmed will be honoured afresh each year, as the pious founder of the noblest Mohammedan seat of learning which this age has bequeathed to posterity.

In March 1883, my old friend Mr. Allan Octavian Hume, C.B., late B.C.S., advocated the cause of native Volunteers in India, and in doing so stated that in the Mutiny he had a brigade of infantry, cavalry, and artillery,—*i.e.*, the Etawah Yeomanry Levy,—all volunteers. Having been the Adjutant of that Levy during 1858-59, I addressed the following letter to the editor of the "Pioneer," entitled, "What is a Native Volunteer?":—

Sir,—In your issue of Monday, Mr. Hume, after explaining how his party of refugees were escorted from Etawah to Fattehabad by native Volunteers (in

1857), and thence to Agra by European Volunteers, concludes his letter thus: "I had a brigade of infantry, cavalry, and artillery that in many actions proved their fidelity; and if, amongst other things, their conduct was considered sufficiently distinguished to merit, on two separate occasions, a whole Gazette to themselves, I beg that it may not be forgotten that they were all native Volunteers." I would venture to ask from my friend Mr. Hume a definition of the word "Volunteer." The generally accepted one is that a Volunteer is a man who gives his services to his country without being paid for doing so. Mr. Hume's brigade of cavalry, infantry, and artillery did, as no one knows better than myself, right good service during 1858 and 1859; but as each individual was paid for his services just like the rest of our native army, I fail to see how they could have been Vounteers. Volunteer for service they certainly did, but so do all our soldiers. Will Mr. Hume maintain that the men of our native army are all Volunteers? If Mr. Hume's argument for the enrolment of native Volunteers be pushed to its logical conclusion, it can only mean that the cases of Volunteers at home and native Volunteers in India are to be considered as identical. Anomalies are not now permitted. Now, out of a population of, say, 30,000,000 in England and Scotland, say 300,000 are Volunteers. India has a population of 240,000,000; therefore, according to Mr. Hume's argument, we ought out here to have a native Volunteer army of say 3,000,000 of men, all officered by natives, and each battalion with its complement of rifles and ammunition under its entire control. There would not be many Europeans in the country if Mr. Hume's advocacy of native Volunteers were successful.

This brought Syed Ahmed down upon me, and in a letter which he wrote asking me to visit him, as I was about to pass through Allygurh *en route* to Nepaul tiger-shooting, he said:—

I have perused your reply to Mr. Hume's letter advocating the Volunteering of the natives of India. In not allowing the natives to become Volunteers, the

Government mean to say that they do not trust the natives of India. Its consequence should be judged (*sic*) from the saying, "If you want us to trust you, you should also trust us." There yet exists a wide gulf between Europeans and the natives of India, and unless it be filled up, nothing can secure and improve the prosperity of the country.

Now I at once grant that, if anomalies are to be permitted, we should do well to start *corps d'élite* of native Volunteers. At home every man can become a Volunteer, and is at once provided with uniform, rifle, and ammunition. This could not, for obvious reasons, be the case out here ; and the establishment of native *corps d'élite* of Volunteers would therefore, regarded from the English point of view, be an anomaly. What I would advocate would be the selection, by the local authorities in all large stations in India, of a certain number of picked native Volunteers—men of good family, well known for their loyalty—to be placed under the command of the officer commanding the European Volunteers. I would let them select their own company officers ; and once started, I would also permit them to select their own recruits as vacancies occurred. I throw out the suggestion for what it is worth.

On the 22nd January 1884, Syed Ahmed and party of three friends left Allygurh to pay a visit to the Panjab. On the 23rd they arrived at Ludhiana, and were received by a large crowd of Mohammedan gentlemen at the station—many also having gone out several stations to meet them. On Syed Ahmed stepping out of the train, Kadir Bakhsh, extra-Assistant-Commissioner of Ludhiana, put a garland of flowers round his neck, and many bouquets were given him, those who could not get near enough to present them throwing their bouquets to him. The crowd was

so great—over 800 people being on the platform—that there was some difficulty in getting into the carriages. Syed Ahmed and party drove to the house of Nawab Ally Mahomed Khan Bahadur of Jhajjer, which was furnished in European fashion. The house was thronged all day with visitors anxious to get Syed Ahmed's opinions on points upon which he was at variance with other Mohammedans. Conversations were long and very animated. In the afternoon he gave a lecture in the Town-hall, which was so crowded that there was not even standing-room in the verandahs. Syed Ahmed's lecture and speeches after it were so impressive that many of the audience wept. Rs. 1584 were presented to him in aid of his college. Several powerful speeches in his praise were made by leading Mohammedans of Ludhiana, and the meeting did not break up till midnight.

The writer of the account of the trip, Syed Ikbal Ally, of which what I write is a very brief and condensed translation—the account being in Urdu, and occupying two hundred and eighty-one pages—says, "When I heard these Panjabi Mohammedans holding forth eloquently in the Panjabi accent as to the necessity of sympathy with us and the elevation of our race, I was greatly affected and charmed, as this was the first time I had ever heard educated Panjabis speak. When they alluded to Syed Ahmed's age and exhorted their hearers to strive for the welfare of our race, the effect on the audience was extraordinary, many having their eyes full of tears and many weeping outright. From this day forth there was great liberality and favour shown to Syed Ahmed." Numbers of young and well-educated Mohammedans told him of their religious doubts, and he, by his arguments, swept their

doubts away. Whilst at Ludhiana, a deputation of the "Islamic Society" of Jallander, composed of four of the principal Mohammedans of that place, came over to meet him, and early on the 24th Syed Ahmed and party proceeded to Jallander, a very large and sympathetic assemblage being present at the railway station to see him off. The deputation accompanied him. On arriving at the Jallander station there was a large assemblage to meet Syed Ahmed, and he was loudly cheered as he got out of his carriage. He thanked them warmly for his reception, and received a large number of bouquets. The party drove off to see the Town-hall, in which it had been decided that Syed Ahmed should deliver a speech ; but a change had been made, and it had been decided to have it at the house of his host Kunr Harnam Sing of Ahluwala. Here he had many visitors, including Colonel Young, the Commissioner, Sirdar Bikrma Sing, C.S.I., and the Rev. Messrs. Wikoff and Golak Nath.

By 4 P.M. thousands of people had assembled in and around the tent in which he was to address them, and there was consequently a good deal of confusion. An address from the Islamic Society welcoming Syed Ahmed to Jallander was read, but was scarcely audible owing to the noise going on. The same fate overtook the reading of the English translation of the address. An address was then presented to him from the students of the High School, which even Syed Ahmed could scarcely hear. He replied to all of these in a long and eloquent speech, which was greatly applauded. On the 25th he left for Amritser, being seen off by numerous friends. Several stations out of Amritser, at Kerterpur, he was met by a number of leading Mohammedans of Amritser. At the station the sum of Rs.8.9.0 was

presented to him for his college by one Ramchander, a Hindu landowner of Kerterpur, who had raised this amount amongst the scholars of the village school, who had subscribed one or two annas each! Syed Ahmed gratefully accepted this small contribution, and told Ramchander that he felt it more than the thousands presented to the college by wealthy donors. At Amritser the school students wanted to pull his carriage from the railway station to his residence, but Syed Ahmed declined the honour with thanks. There was an enormous crowd waiting to welcome him. There had been a correspondence with the Islamic Society here as to what was to be done. That body wished to entertain Syed Ahmed, but Syed Ahmed was desirous that the money that this would cost should be placed instead at his disposal for the college. The Society triumphed by getting Syed Ahmed to take the cost of the entertainment and the entertainment as well! He was entertained at the Town-hall at an evening party, which was crowded with natives and Europeans. On the 26th he distributed the prizes at the Mohammedan School, being loudly cheered by the students on his entrance. In the evening he addressed a large assemblage of Mohammedans at the Town-hall, after receiving an address from the Islamic Society. The cheering at the close was enthusiastic. Rs. 1500 were presented to him for the college, and Syed Ahmed, after thanking them warmly, said that with this money he would build boarding-quarters, and have inscribed thereon that they had been built with money presented by the Islamic Society and the residents of Amritser. On the 27th he left for Gurdaspur, being escorted to the station, as usual, by a number of friends. He was received at the Gurdaspur station with great cheering

and the inevitable address, to which he replied in suitable terms. He then drove to the house of his friend Sirdar Mahomed Hyat Khan Bahadur, C.S.I. At 4 P.M. he delivered a speech at the school,—mottoes such as "Welcome to the Syed," "Knowledge is power," &c., being amongst the decorations. On the 28th there was a big dinner of European and native gentlemen at his host's house. After dinner an address from the women of the Panjab was presented to Syed Ahmed. His host's wife had formed a committee in his honour in recognition of what he had done for his race, and had got up a separate subscription for him of Rs.327. Hyat Mahomed Khan then presented the address and the money, his little girl, who was to have presented them, having fallen asleep! Syed Ahmed made a suitable reply, and said that he would send a copy of it to each of the lady subscribers. He did so before reaching Lahore. His host then presented him with a note for Rs.1000, and promised Rs.500 more; and a sum of Rs.819.4.0 was also presented to him from the residents of Gurdaspur. Syed Ahmed thanked Mahomed Hyat Khan and the residents most warmly, and told his host that his donation would go towards building boarding-quarters which should have on them an inscription in honour of his father. There was an evening-party afterwards, which was largely attended by Hindus, Mohammedans, and Europeans.

On the 29th he left for Amritser—the station being crowded with friends who had come to see him off. In the afternoon he gave a lecture in the Amritser Town-hall. On the 30th he left for Lahore, where the railway station presented an animated appearance, being densely packed from end to end. A programme of the details of his visit had been printed and circu-

lated. Red cloth was laid down for him to pass to his carriage. He was received with great cheering and many bouquets. The editor of the native paper, "Friend of India," had printed and distributed a number of copies of his paper containing a portrait and an account of Syed Ahmed's works. The children of the Mohammedan schools cheered him lustily. Great crowds were in the streets, and he was received with the greatest enthusiasm. The house of the Raja of Kapurtalla was placed at his disposal during his stay. From early morning to 11 P.M. hosts of admiring visitors came to see him. A large deputation of Hindus visited him on the 2nd February and presented him with an address. An evening-party at the University Hall was given in his honour that evening by Mr. Parker, Judicial Registrar of the Panjab, and was a great success. On the 3rd addresses were presented to him from the Islamic Society and the Indian Association, at the Government School. I give the Association address entire :—

ADDRESS FROM THE INDIAN ASSOCIATION, LAHORE.

To the Honourable
SYED AHMED KHAN BAHADUR, C.S.I.

HONOURABLE SIR,—We, the members of the Indian Association of Lahore, beg to welcome you to our city with our best wishes and most distinguished sentiments.

Your noble exertions to improve the condition of the Mohammedan population of India, and to diffuse the blessings of knowledge and enlightenment among them, and the brilliant success you have been able to achieve in this direction, mark you out as one of the most meritorious of our public men, and deservedly entitle you to the esteem and gratitude of all classes of the Indian people. Our Association, composed of members of all races and creeds in this province, have much pleasure

in bearing testimony to the high character of your services to the public, and in expressing their sense of the benefits you have conferred on the country.

Not the least remarkable feature of your public career has been the breadth of your views and your liberal attitude towards sections of the community other than your co-religionists. Your conduct throughout has been stainless of bias or bigotry. The benefits of the noble educational institution you have established at Allygurh are open alike to Hindus as well as Mohammedans. Our unhappy country is so split up with petty religious and sectarian jealousies, and has suffered so much in the past from sectarian and religious dissensions, that the advent of a man of your large-hearted and liberal views is a matter of peculiar congratulation at this time. Long may you be spared to inculcate knowledge among Mohammedans and Hindus alike, and, by eradicating prejudice and bigotry from their minds, to unite them in the firm bonds of fraternal union.

Your highly useful career in the Legislative Council of India can only be touched upon here. Your impartial care for all classes, your manly and faithful representation of national views and your vigilant regard for national interests, while acting in that body, deserve the warmest acknowledgments from us and our countrymen.

Again welcoming you to Lahore, and hoping that the pleasure of your visit may often be renewed, and that your noble efforts may be crowned with success, we remain, your most obedient servants,

DAVAL SINGH, *President.*
&c. &c. &c.

In the course of his reply, Syed Ahmed laid great stress on the desirability of greater union between the two races—Hindus and Mohammedans—and said that in Council his efforts were always for them both as a nation. On this the " Tribune " remarked :—

The Honourable Syed Ahmed Khan, C.S.I., was here. He left this on Monday last. His visit to this place deserves more than a passing notice on account of certain utterances which deserve the careful consider-

ation of all our countrymen. We have all along pointed out the great desirability of establishing more friendly and intimate relations between the Hindus and Mohammedans than now exist. They should not only love and embrace each other as brothers, but they should also, if they want this country to rise to its ancient glory once again, become fused into one nation. The latter, however, must be the work of generations; the former is unquestionably the easier of the two, and can be accomplished in less time.

It would help us little now to insist on the exclusive privileges of either the Hindu or the Mohammedan. It is a fact that there are in India about 200 millions of Hindus and about 50 millions of Mohammedans, and this fact cannot be ignored. Religious prejudices are the great stumbling-block in the way of brotherly feeling between the two mighty sections of the people; but liberal thought and liberal training have been at work, and we have already seen many apostles among the Hindus who have made it the mission of their life to preach the development of that feeling. The Mohammedans are more conservative in this respect, and it therefore gives us infinite pleasure to find that there is at least one great man among them who does not yield to any one in large-minded patriotism.

We heartily welcome his words, which we do not often hear from the lips of our Mohammedan compatriots. The example set by the Syed is worthy of imitation, not only by men of his own creed, but even by Hindus. We trust it will be largely followed.

He was presented with Rs.1380 by the Association, and with Rs.2074 by the Islamic Society and residents of Lahore. Early on the 4th February he was *en route* to Jallander, where he was the guest of Sirdar Bikrma Sing. That evening he made a long speech in the large hall at his host's house, and was enthusiastically cheered. An address was then read to him from the young men of Jallander, to which he replied. He left the same night by rail for Patialla, and reached the station of Najpura, the nearest to Patialla, the next

morning. He was received by several of the Maharaja's high officials, and the party left shortly after for Patialla in two carriages-and-four. His visit to Patialla was to his friends the Prime Minister Wazir ud Dowla Mudabbir ul Mulk Khalifa Syed Mahomed Hassan Khan, and Mushir ud Dowla Mumtaz ul Mulk Khalifa Syed Mahomed Hussain Khan. Shortly before reaching Patialla they were seen approaching, and soon the carriages stopped, and their occupants alighted and greeted each other. Re-entering the carriages, they soon reached their host's palace. The writer of the account of the journey says: "I was greatly astonished at seeing a picture here, in which Syed Ahmed is shown leaning against a tree on the sea-shore, with the late lamented Sir Salar Jang standing not far off. The sea is stormy, and the waves are running high; and a ship—dismasted—is shown crowded with people, and on the point of sinking. Several of the passengers have jumped into the sea, and are swimming towards the shore. A boat is trying to pick them up, and on its flag is written "One lac of rupees." Syed Ahmed is represented as saying "Not sufficient." An angel from heaven is on his shoulder, and he is pointing to Sir Salar Jang, with the words, "Look to this noble man!" I did not understand the meaning of this allegory, but was told by the Prime Minister that it had been painted to illustrate the condition of the Mohammedan College, and the appeal for help by Syed Ahmed to Sir Salar Jang when his college fund amounted to only a lac of rupees."

Syed Ahmed stayed two days at Patialla, and collected Rs. 256 for the college. On the 6th he left for Mozaffernagger, where he stayed with Nawab Mahomed Ishak Khan, the first Mohammedan assist-

ant in the North-West Provinces Civil Service. On the 7th he received addresses at the school, and replied at length. Rs. 196 were given him for the college. He left the same evening for Allygurh. So ended his "Mid-Lothian campaign" in the Panjab.

Towards the end of this month Sir Alfred Lyall, Lieutenant-Governor North-West Provinces, entertained their Royal Highnesses the Duke and Duchess of Connaught in his own and the Viceroy's camp at Agra, the latter being lent for the occasion. There were races, dinners, a splendid ball to the Duke and Duchess, and an evening party at the Lieutenant-Governor's. At the latter Syed Ahmed was presented to the Duke, and he afterwards came over to my tent in the camp, I having left the evening party early. We talked till the small hours, and in the course of a conversation on Egypt, he said, "Our position in Egypt reminds me of the story of the man who lived by picking up flotsam and jetsam on the Indus. One day he was sitting with some of his friends, when he saw something black floating down the river which looked like a black blanket. He swam out and seized it, but found, to his horror, that it was a black bear, which at once hugged him. The man struggled hard, but could not escape, and was going down, when his friends saw his struggles, and thinking that the blanket was too heavy for him, called out to him to let it go. "All very well," cried the despairing man, "But the blanket won't let me go!" "England," said Syed Ahmed, "is the man, and Egypt the bear."

On the 17th October, 1884, Nawab Salar Jang, Prime Minister of Hyderabad, paid Syed Ahmed a visit to inspect the college, of which he is a visitor, as was his lamented and distinguished father, Sir Salar

Jang. I went over for the occasion. That night we dined quietly at Syed Ahmed's—the Nawab, who is a very tall and powerfully framed man of only twenty-three (Prime Minister, like Pitt, at that early age)—suite of six, and three Englishmen. The next day, at 4.15 p.m., the Nawab drove with his party to the college, where he was received with cheers by the students. A large number of European and native gentlemen were present. Syed Ahmed read the address, and in reply his Excellency said:

"If I were to arrogate all the kind things which you have said of me, I should be vain indeed. What you have said is out of your friendship for me, and I need not assure you how much I value it. You speak of the decline of the Mohammedans and their fortunes. Gentlemen it is a sad story; but it is we ourselves who are mainly responsible for it, and the remedy you have devised is the only one for the evils which have come upon us. I quite agree with you that it is only the order and good government of the British power that have made the success of schemes such as you name possible in India. It is, then, our duty to be grateful to those who have enabled us to benefit ourselves and thus improve our condition. The work you have undertaken is one that cannot fail to have friends and supporters among all classes in India. As for us Mohammedans, it is our duty to help it, and see that the fine tree planted by you bears good fruit. You mention my father's services to your institution: it is very kind of you to do so. Those services were another proof of his great philanthropy and the good that he did in his day. Truly, gentlemen, his life was spent in benefiting others, and his good name is known throughout the world. What I have seen here—the crowded class-rooms, the boarding-house, the teaching-staff, the numerous buildings connected with the college, the arrangements regarding board, lodging, and instruction—are all worthy of the highest praise; but as in enterprises of such moment the stronger the sinews of war the greater always the chances of success, I think

it but right that, seeing the good work you have done, I should announce to you here the resolution of his Highness the Nizam's Government to increase the endowment from Hyderabad by Rs. 3,000 a-year. I have no doubt that when I return to Hyderabad and represent to my sovereign and master what I have seen and heard here, his Highness, who takes great interest in matters of education, will confirm the grant. I shall conclude my reply with the wish that this institution may become a great seat of learning in India, and that its founder may live long enough to see the results of the good he has done, and gather with his own hands the fruit of the tree he has planted.

The Nawab's speech was enthusiastically applauded by the students. In the evening about fifty English and Mohammedan gentlemen dined with the members of the College Committee in the Salar Manzil (so named after Sir Salar Jang), the dining-hall of the college, to meet his Excellency Salar Jang. The road up to the hall was illuminated. After dinner, the healths of the Queen-Empress, Lord Ripon, and the Nizam were proposed and heartily received. The Hon. Justice Mahmud* then proposed the health of the guest of the evening as follows :—

Gentlemen, I rise on behalf of the Mohammedan Anglo-Oriental College Committee, of which I have the honour of being a member, to propose a toast, which, judging by my own feelings, will, I am sure, be heartily received. I wish to propose the health of our distinguished guest, his Excellency Nawab Ahmed-as-Saltanat Salar Jang Bahadur, who has honoured the college with a visit. I feel sure that there is no one round this table who does not feel the significance of to-night. Gentlemen, people of different races and creeds are assembled here to-night to welcome an illustrious guest, and the event has to us, friends and sup-

*Mahmud came and sat by me who had taken a seat far away from Sir Salar Jang, and on my asking him why he did so, he said : "Because I want to be near my friend."

porters of the college, a mark of special importance. Not many years ago some of our number, feeling the importance which education must necessarily possess in every country, co-operated with hearts full of hope to provide means for the education of the younger members of the Mohammedan community, who had by a combination of causes fallen behind the age. Our endeavours began among difficulties such as can be understood fully only by those who are acquainted with the inner conditions of Mohammedan life in British India. We were British subjects endeavouring to make our community worthv citizens by inspiring them with a desire to prepare the younger generation for being worthy subjects of the British empire. The difficulties are fully known to ourselves; but we felt that our endeavours could never be crowned with success without the help of men of our own race and creed, whose prominence in the commonwealth would carry greater weight than any endeavours of our own could possibly claim. It was then that the illustrious father of our honoured guest gave us a helping hand by assisting us not only with money, but with that which we appreciate and prize much higher—his genuine sympathy for the cause of Mohammedan education. It would be out of place here to say anything in connection with the administrative reforms which Sir Salar Jang introduced in Hyderabad; but I think I may say with confidence, that among the glorious deeds which will keep him illustrious in history, his interest in the cause of education and enlightenment will not be the least significant. It was due to that interest that the College Committee won the sympathy of the greatest Indian administrator of the time, illustrious as a governor, distinguished not only among the Mohammedans, but also among people of other races. Our distinguished guest to-night—a son and successor of an illustrious administrator—has, in inheriting the rank and position of his noble ancestor, inherited also what we, as you may well imagine, appreciate deeply—a genuine interest in the cause of education. I will say nothing in connection with the magnificent increase of endowment which his Excellency, in reply to our address, announced to-day; but I think we have the

privilege of saying, even in his Excellency's presence, that his visit to us will live as a historical event in the annals of this college. Gentlemen, our college is an institution which has for its aim and ambition the promotion of education among Mohammedans—education which we hope will make them worthy subjects of the British Crown; and it is to us a matter of special satisfaction that the long subsisting friendship which has existed between the Government of the Queen-Empress and the Hyderabad State has been evinced in our case by the pecuniary help and genuine sympathy which we have received from his Highness the Nizam's Government. As British subjects we owe allegiance to the British Crown; but in connection with a matter like education, which has a permanent bearing upon the progress of the empire, I feel—and I think his Excellency will agree with me—the two Governments have common interests. The presence here to-night of people of different races and religions is in itself to us a mark of the interest which education has, and must necessarily have, in connection with the progress of India. And, gentlemen, I am sure that, meeting here as we have done round the same table in honour of our distinguished guest, you will agree with me in the feeling that his Excellency the Nawab—who, with his great responsibilities, has, I am sure we all hope, a long career before him—may follow the example of his illustrious father, and help the cause of enlightenment, of security and public welfare, which, even in the most trying times, proved true to the interests of the empire of the Queen-Empress. Gentlemen, I ask you to drink to the health of his Excellency Nawab Salar Jang, with all good wishes for his long life and prosperity, with the heartiness of the feeling which animates me at the present moment.

The toast was drunk with enthusiasm. The Nawab replied as follows :—

Mr. President and gentlemen, I thank you most sincerely for the kind manner in which you have proposed and received my health. I should have felt myself unworthy of the honour you have done me to-night, had I not felt that in honouring me you were

honouring the memory of my illustrious father. Of him it may be truly said that his good deeds have not been interred with his bones. Wherever I go, and whichever way I turn, I am greeted with witnesses of his greatness and the good name he has left behind him, and they are to me an unfailing source of support and encouragement. Thus I receive the handsome tribute you have paid to his memory as another admonition to me to follow in his footsteps. You have spoken of the help rendered by my father to this institution in connection with the friendly relations that subsist between his Highness and the paramount Power. Gentlemen, history has developed itself wonderfully during the last fifty years. Every native prince and native ruler is beginning to think himself a part and parcel of the empire, which, I sincerely believe, has a great destiny before it. Our progress and our prosperity are bound up with the progress and prosperity of the empire. In helping, therefore, an institution like the one you have founded here, my father was only helping the good of the empire, which is the good of all of us who form part of it. This is the view I take of all philanthropic undertakings, in whatever part of India they may be started, and my opinion is founded on true patriotism, and a just estimate of our position in contemporary history. In going over the college and grounds yesterday, I could not help wondering at the speed with which your institution has developed itself. Undertakings of this kind are necessarily of slow growth, but the progress you have made needs to be seen in order to be believed. I have seen the colleges at the great seats of learning in England, and your institution, I venture to say, has got in it the same element that has led to their greatness and renown. The ground we are treading to-day will, I have no doubt, in some no distant future become classic ground; and it is not at all chimerical to imagine that under the shade of the fine trees you have planted, some Indian Bacon will one day formulate thoughts that are destined to change our philosophy, some Indian Newton will evolve problems which will revolutionise our science. While thanking you again for the honour you have done me to-night, I shall ask you to drink the health of our esteemed friend Syed Ahmed Khan,

coupled with that of prosperity to the college. His services to his country and to his Government are too well known to need any comment; and long after those present here are dead and gone, the Mohammedan College at Allygurh will stand a living witness of his philanthropy.

Syed Ahmed replied in a short but feeling speech, and was warmly cheered when he sat down. Of the Nawab Salar Jang I may here repeat what I said of him in the "Pioneer": "The impression left by the young Prime Minister—he is only three-and-twenty—is a most pleasing one. Of a commanding presence, courteous and self-possessed, he has inherited the qualities and manner which, for more than a quarter of a century, made the late Sir Salar Jang so great a favourite, not only with those in high position, but with the European community at large." After dinner, on my asking the Nawab for his speech, he said he had no copy, but he asked me to go with him into the dining-hall, which by that time was nearly clear, saying that he would dictate it to me there. As I thought there was too little time to allow of my doing so, the Nawab having to start for Hyderabad by a train leaving shortly after, I said so; upon which he said he would telegraph it to me from Cawnpore. After some conversation I left him, and found afterwards that, on my leaving him, he had at once got a friend of mine to go into the dining-room with him, dictated his speech, and had it duly taken down. His last words to me as I saw him into his carriage were, "Remember, Mr. Bullock, B.C.S., has it." I got it in due course.

On the 18th November the Viceroy, Lord Ripon, paid Syed Ahmed a flying visit *en route* from Simla to Agra. Syed Ahmed asked me to be present, and I went over on the evening of the 17th. The Viceroy

reached Allygurh about mid-day on the 18th, and was received by all the officials and principal native gentlemen. He drove at once to the college, where he was received by the Hon. Justice Mahmud, in Cambridge cap and gown, and Mr. Theodore Beck, the able Principal of the College (late President of the Cambridge University Union Society), also in Cambridge cap and gown, and the members of the College Committee. His lordship went over the whole of the college, and was evidently struck with what he saw. An episode afterwards occurred, and Lord Ripon received an honour that has never yet been bestowed upon any former Viceroy. The party had to cross an open space to get to the Strachey Hall, in which his Excellency was to receive an address; and a number of native gentlemen came forward begging to be allowed to carry his lordship across in a *tonjon*, or species of sedan-chair. This was equivalent to their taking the horses out of his carriage and dragging the carriage themselves. Lord Ripon consented, and was duly carried across in state, the native gentlemen having their hands on all round the *tonjon*, which was, however, really carried by stalwart bearers in red uniform.

In the Strachey Hall, Lord Ripon received an address from the Committee of the college, and replied in due course. The "Pioneer" said of this occasion :—

Of Lord Ripon's many public appearances during the last fortnight, his visit to the Mohammedan Anglo-Oriental College at Allygurh last Tuesday, is in many respects the most important. We publish below the full text of his Excellency's speech on the occasion, as well as the address presented him on behalf of the college, in itself a remarkable document, which ran as follows :—

"We the members of the Mohammedan Anglo-Oriental College Committee, approach your Excellency with feelings of sincere gratitude for the honour which your lordship has conferred upon us to-day by visiting the scene of our humble labours to promote the cause of education among the Mohammedan community. Upon an occasion so auspicious, we feel that it will not be out of place to mention briefly the origin of the movement which has resulted in the foundation of the college, the progress which the institution has made, and the prospects it has in the future.

"Among the numerous blessings which the British rule has conferred upon India, we are convinced there is none which can rank higher than the inauguration of a system of education based upon Western methods, and having for its aim the moral and intellectual progress of the native population. The educational policy adopted by the Government of India about half a century ago—a policy with which the great name of Lord Macaulay will always be associated—was emphasised in 1854, and has since produced results which find no parallel in the history of the world. For never before in the history of mankind has there been a spectacle like the British rule in India, where, along with the establishment of peace, the administration of justice, the introduction of the ordinary comforts of civilised life, one of the main principles of Government is to promote education and to advance enlightenment among a vast population whom Providence has placed under the administration of statesmen of a foreign race and creed. Impressed with the stupendous significance of these facts, and seeing the progress which, in consequence, the various races in India were making, some of the members of the Mohammedan community could not help observing, with feelings of regret and anxiety, the painful circumstance that their own coreligionists did not adequately participate in the great benefits which the system of State education impartially offered to the various sections of her Majesty's subjects in British India. It is happily no longer necessary for us to dwell upon the lamentable causes which have prevented our coreligionists from fully availing themselves of the education imparted in Government colleges and schools; but it is impossible,

in connection with the history of this college, to refrain from a passing allusion to the special condition of our community, the socio-political traditions of our race, the religious feelings and national prejudices which for so long operated as obstacles to the advancement of European thought and appreciation of English education among our co-religionists. Those were obstacles which were beginning to assume inordinate magnitude, according as time advanced and the progress made by the other classes of her Majesty's Indian subjects threw back the Mohammedan population in the race of life, by making them less worthy of citizenship of the empire. Aware of the existing state of things, apprehensive of the dangers which threatened the future of our race in India, and anxious to make the growing generation of Mohammedans worthy of British citizenship—loyal and useful subjects of the British Crown—some of the members of our community formed themselves into a Committee to investigate and ascertain the exact causes which operated to produce such unsatisfactory effects on the social, political, and economical condition of the Mohammedan community in India. Among other measures taken by the Committee, they offered prizes for essays on the subject of Mohammedan education. No less than thirty-two essays were sent to them ; and as the result of their final deliberations, the Committee came to the conclusion that the foundation of a college, independent in its internal organisation and management calculated to meet the educational needs of the Mohammedan community in particular, was absolutely necessary to give practical effect to the conclusions at which they had arrived. With this object in view, the Mohammedan Anglo-Oriental College Fund Committee was formed in the year 1871, for the purpose of collecting subscriptions to raise necessary funds for founding the proposed institution. They publicly declared that one of the main objects of the proposed college was to bring a knowledge of European science and literature home to the Mohammedans of India, and to combine religious with secular education in a manner which they regarded was not practicable in any institution maintained solely by the State. To the masses of the Mohammedan population the idea of the introduction of European

methods of thought into the minds of the growing generation of their race appeared as an unwelcome departure from their old and traditional attitude of mind, and our endeavours at the outset were met with an opposition which, though not unexpected by us, seemed no doubt formidable. Whilst our early endeavours were beset with difficulties raised by our own co-religionists, we had, though we would fain forget it, no uniform sympathy at that time from persons in local authority, whose cordial sympathy might have facilitated our task in a large measure. The friends and supporters of the movement, however, continued their endeavours with firmness and patience, and their efforts were crowned with speedy success. Whilst subscriptions were being collected from our own countrymen in various parts of India, foremost among those in high position who came forward to countenance the movement was your Excellency's predecessor, Lord Northbrook, whose handsome donation of Rs.10,000 forms an endowment devoted to scholarships called after his name. Sir William Muir, at the time Lieutenant-Governor of these Provinces, and Sir John Strachey, who soon after succeeded him in that high office, also personally helped us with munificent donations, and showed sympathy towards our undertaking,—a sympathy which went far to remove those suspicions as to the exact nature of the movement which the novelty of our endeavours had unhappily aroused in some quarters. With such funds as we were able to raise in four years, we opened classes for elementary education in 1875; and on the 8th of January 1877, the foundation-stone of the college buildings was laid by Lord Lytton, who at our humble request graciously consented to preside at the ceremony. Since that time we have expended about Rs.182,000 on buildings, and the progress which we have made encourages us to hope that the day is not far off when we shall be in possession of funds to complete all the projected buildings. Our annual income during the current year approximates Rs.44,000, and will increase during the next year by at least Rs.3,000, which is the increase of endowment recently announced on behalf of the Hyderabad State by his Excellency Nawab Salar Jang on the occasion of his recent visit to the college. Our income

next year is thus expected to amount to nearly Rs.47,000; but our full scheme would require an annual income of Rs.60,000, and it is to the public generosity that we look for further endowments. The past encourages us to hope that that generosity will not be found wanting in the future. And it is here that we crave your lordship's permission to mention the names of a few of our benefactors whose liberality has afforded us pecuniary aid and given encouragement to our undertaking. The Earl of Lytton, who during his stay in India was pleased to take a personal interest in our college, generously gave us pecuniary help which proved valuable to us in time of need, and his name will always be associated with the college as one of its early benefactors. To the benevolence of the Government we are indebted for the greater portion of the spacious grounds upon which the college buildings have been erected; and the generosity of the State, which began in 1875 with Rs.4,200 per annum as grant-in-aid, has now, under the administration of our present Lieutenant-Governor, Sir Alfred Lyall, been increased to Rs.12,000. From English friends, both in England and in India, the college has received pecuniary help, which we have deeply appreciated and highly valued as a guarantee of the sympathy which we sincerely hope will, with the advance of education, grow between the ruling race and the people of India. Conspicuous among our Hindu supporters is the name of the late Maharajah of Patialla, whose magnificent endowment heads the list, which includes the names of the Maharajahs of Benares and Vizianagram, and many other liberal-minded Hindu gentlemen who have favoured our cause. The difference of race and creed has not deterred them from helping us; and it is a matter of especial gratification to us that among our Hindu supporters we have the name of that philanthropic lady, Maharani Surnomoyee. By far the greater portion of our funds and endowments is, however, naturally derived from members of our own race and creed. Foremost among them will always stand the name of the late Sir Salar Jang, whose untimely death is lamented by us as a great blow to the cause of the spread of education, enlightenment, and civilisation among the Mohammedans of India. His name will

live and remain illustrious in history, and distinguished among the munificent benefactors of this college. To his Highness the Nizam's Government we are indebted for a princely donation, besides the endowment of Rs.6,000 per annum, which has quite recently been increased to Rs.9,000 per annum, as was announced to us by the present enlightened Minister of Hyderabad. His Highness the Nawab of Rampur has also liberally helped us with a generous hand. The names of other prominent co-religionists in a'l parts of India who have heartily joined our endeavours and come forward with pecuniary help, are too numerous to be enumerated here; but among the *raises* living in the vicinity of Allygurh we may mention the names of Koer Lutf Ali Khan of Talignagar, Rajah Bakar Ali Khan, C.I.E., of Pindrawal, Mahomed Enayatullah Khan of Bhikampur, and Mahomed Ismail Khan of Datauli, all of whom have shown a warm appreciation of the cause of education among our community.

"My lord, we have recounted these facts because we are proud to feel that the principle of self-help is still in some measure alive in our community, because we are anxious to give public expression to the feeling of loyalty and gratitude with which the help and sympathy of Government in our undertaking have inspired us, also because we cannot forget how much we are indebted to public generosity for the success which our humble endeavours have hitherto attained. Our subscription was opened in 1872; in 1875 we opened the school with only eleven students on the rolls, and an income of Rs.5,500 per annum. In January 1877 the foundation-stone of the college was laid; and soon after the standard of instruction was raised, the college, by gradual steps, was affiliated to the Calcutta University, and for the last two years we have educated up to the standard of the degree of Bachelor of Arts. During this period our annual income has risen to nearly Rs.44,000; the number of our students has risen to 270, and 96 of them have at various times succeeded in the examinations of the Calcutta University. But training for university examinations is not the distinguishing feature of the college, for in that respect it differs but little from other institutions. The college is the practical outcome of the principle of self-help. It is

maintained under native management, in which the European members of the college staff afford valuable co-operation. Its curriculum combines religious with secular education. The authorities of the college exercise supervision over the personal habits and private life of the students. Along with intellectual and moral training, manly sports are encouraged. The system of boarding-houses renders the institution available to students from distant parts of the country. And we are proud to feel that no institution in India exercises its influence over a vaster area of the country than this seat of education. The college is the outcome of national feeling,—it aims at supplying the educational needs and meeting the religious wishes of the Mohammedan community at large; and we have on our rolls students whom the special benefits of our institution have attracted from distant places—such as Peshawar in the north, Hyderabad and Mysore in the south, Calcutta and Patna in the east, and Katiawar in the west. It has been our aim to render the college as far as possible similar in principle to the system on which the public schools of England and the colleges at the Universities of Cambridge and Oxford are based; and one of the special features of the institution is to prepare students for completing their education in England. Five of our students have already proceeded to England for education; two of them have taken honours at the University of Cambridge: and the connection which we have thus established with the educational system of England will, we hope, grow much closer in time; and we look forward to the day when the intellectual vigour and moral influence of the centres of learning in England will be appreciably felt by the Mohammedan community in India. My lord, we feel that to compare this college with the educational institutions of England is to compare small things with great. But the greatest educational institutions in England had at one time a small beginning, and the glorious success which they have achieved encourages us to hope that Providence may bless our endeavours with success similar to that which it has bestowed upon the philanthropic efforts of those who founded the great colleges of Oxford and Cambridge. The British rule in India has united a vast and multifarious population under one

sceptre; and the peace, toleration, and security which it has established, furnish an ample basis for the intellectual and moral progress of the various peoples inhabiting this vast continent. Among them the Mohammedan community is slowly but steadily freeing itself from those illusory traditions of the past which hampered them in the race of life and made them unworthy subjects of the British Crown. The founders of this college have before them the aim of extending their scheme to places other than Allygurh. For the purposes of higher education this college will continue to supply the special needs of the Mohammedan population; but for primary education the friends and supporters of the college intend to induce their co-religionists in various parts of India to establish schools to prepare young students for the higher classes of the college. Some day, when our endowments are richer and our schemes are completed, we hope to be in a position to ask the great representative in India of her Majesty the Queen-Empress to confer upon us the legal status of an independent university.

"My lord, if we dwell upon the future prospects of this institution, it is because we are convinced that nothing can be achieved without hope, that nothing great can be accomplished without high aspirations. The aspirations of the founders of this college are purely educational, but from education spring those social, political, and economical blessings which civilisation brings in its train. The time has happily passed when the Mohammedans of India looked upon their condition as hopeless, when they regarded the past with feelings of mournful sorrow. Their hopes are now inclined to the prospects of the future: their hearts, full of loyalty to the rule of the Queen-Empress, aspire to finding distinction and prominence among the various races of the vast empire over which her Majesty holds sway. It is to help the realisation of these aspirations that this college has been founded, and we fervently hope that among the results which may flow from our system of education, not the least important will be the promotion of friendly feelings of social intercourse and interchange of amenities of life between the English community in India and the Mohammedan population. The distinctions of race,

language, and creed have unhappily combined, with other less natural causes, to maintain an immiscibility of character amoug the various sections of the population of India. But we are convinced that the progress of education will mitigate those causes; that with the advance of general enlightenment, civilisation will furnish a common platform of social intercourse; that race distinctions will sink into insignificance; and, regardless of petty considerations, the Englishman and the native will unite with equal loyalty and equal patriotism to advance the peace, the prosperity, and general welfare of the great Indian empire. India owes it to the noble and magnanimous policy which your Excellency inaugurated, the real steps towards the attainment of the great aims to which we have referred. It does not befit us, in the capacity in which we approach your Excellency to-day, to speak of the great effect upon peace, progress, and prosperity which your Excellency's noble endeavours will have upon the future welfare of the people of India. With matters purely political or purely administrative we are only but indirectly concerned. But concerned as we are with education in particular, we claim it as our right, and we value it as our privilege, to express even in your lordship's presence those feelings of deep appreciation and loyal gratitude with which the people of India will always regard the measures which your Excellency's Administration has adopted in connection with the great subject of education. The late Commission appointed to investigate and report upon the results which the educational policy of Government had produced during a period of more than a quarter of a century, the searching inquiry which the Commission instituted, the principles of future policy which your Excellency's Government has recently announced, will live in the history of India and the hearts of her people as one of the many illustrious facts of your Excellency's Viceroyalty of India. To us, the friends and supporters of the cause of education among Mohammedans, your Excellency's personal munificence in contributing to the funds of this college will remain a lasting memorial of that generosity and large-heartedness with which the people of India have learnt to credit the nobility and gentry of the distant land of Great Britain. Your

Excellency's visit to-day will ever be a historical event in the annals of our college, and a magnificent illustration of the sympathy which the British rule and the great statesmen who guide its affairs have shown towards the spread of enlightenment and civilisation in India. But with all that we feel about the past, with all that we feel about the present, with all the hopes and aspirations which animate us about the future, we feel, and feel in common with the millions that inhabit the British empire in India, a feeling of deep and heartfelt sorrow at your lordship's approaching departure from India. That the teeming millions that inhabit India have a great future before them, greater even than the most glorious days of their past—that that future will be the outcome of the noble efforts which the British rule is making in their behalf—cannot be doubted by any but those who are unacquainted with the history of mankind. The British rule in India is the most wonderful phenomenon in the history of the world, and the guidance of its great principles a task beset with difficulties of no ordinary moment. With those difficulties your lordship's Administration had to contend. But the lapse of time or the vicissitudes of administrative policy will be equally powerless to obliterate the great and noble principles, the recognition of which your lordship's Administration has secured for this country. Your Excellency's name will remain illustrious in the history of India as one of the greatest benefactors of the Indian people; but even more illustrious than the record of history, will live impressed upon the living hearts of living millions the recollection of an Administration magnanimous in its policy, philanthropic in its aims, and having justice as its sole guide amid contending interests and conflicting claims.

"My lord, while thanking you for the honour which you have conferred upon us to-day, and the sympathy which you have evinced towards our humble efforts in behalf of education, we cannot refrain from expressing a heartfelt hope that, notwithstanding the disseverance of your Excellency's connection with the Government of India, your lordship will continue to take an interest in the destinies of her people; and we fervently pray to the Almighty Creator of all nations, that the career

of distinction which is still open to you may be distinguished with long life, health, and prosperity.

His Excellency the Viceroy then rose, and spoke as follows :—

Gentlemen, I can assure you that it is a great pleasure to me to have been able to visit this interesting institution upon the present occasion, and to have received from you so cordial a greeting. My attention has long been called to this college, and I have watched its progress with much interest. To-day I have had the honour of actually seeing the buildings which have been erected and the work which is going on here ; and I have been greatly gratified to observe the progress which has already been made, the comforts which you have provided for your students, and the ample means of instruction which you have placed at their disposal. The success which has up to this time attended your efforts is to me a source of great satisfaction, not only because of the interest which I have long taken in this college on account of its connection with my esteemed friend Syed Ahmed, whose acquaintance I had the pleasure of making on my first arrival in India, but also because I see in that success a proof of what can be done in this country in the matter of education by the power of private enterprise and individual personal influence ; for I am strongly convinced that it is only by private munificence and private management supplementing the efforts of the Government that we can hope to solve the difficult and important problem of public education in India in a complete and thorough manner.

You, gentlemen, have said in your address that self-help is still alive in your community. You cannot have a better augury of the success which is likely to attend your efforts. You tell me that one of the main objects of the founders of this institution was to combine religious and secular education. With that object, as I think you know, I heartily sympathise ; for I hold the belief, which is not perhaps very common in these days, that the division between those two branches of education which go by the name of religious and secular is altogether an artificial division, and that a complete

education can only be secured by their close and intimate union.

Again, gentlemen, in your address I find mention made of another object which you have set before you, with which I most cordially sympathise. You say that it is one of the special features of this institution to prepare students for completing their education in England. To my mind that is a very great object of public and political importance. The more able and intelligent young men from India can be induced to go to England to complete their education there in the schools and universities of that country, the better both for India and for England. Those who go there will learn what are the true sentiments of the English people towards the people of India, and I venture to assure them that they will find them friendly and sympathetic; while Englishmen will derive much benefit from knowing what are the abilities, the feelings, and the aspirations of educated natives of this country.

Gentlemen, I have derived great pleasure from the manner in which you have spoken at the beginning of this address with respect to the educational policy of the British Government. Your words are well worth repeating, and therefore I will read them again. You say: "The educational policy adopted by the Government of India about half a century ago—a policy with which the great name of Lord Macaulay will always be associated—was emphasised in 1854, and has since produced results which find no parallel in the history of the world. For never before in the history of mankind has there been a spectacle like the British rule in India, where, along with the establishment of peace, the administration of justice, the introduction of the ordinary comforts of civilised life, one of the main principles of Government is to promote education and to advance enlightenment among a vast population whom Providence has placed under the administration of statesmen of a foreign race and creed." That description of the British policy in this country is, I am proud to think, a just description, and there is no part of our administration in this great peninsula upon which we may more fairly rest our claim to the thanks of the people of India. It is indeed, gentlemen, as you remark, a striking spectacle—unique, I believe, in

history—that a Government such as the English Government in this country should deliberately and of its own free will conduct its administration under the criticism of a free press, and that it should make it one of its chief objects to promote to the widest possible extent the education of all classes of the people. That England should have done, and should be doing this, is, to my mind, one of her highest titles to honour among the nations of the world, and one which I earnestly hope she will never forfeit. Gentlemen, the work which has been done during the last thirty or forty years in India in the matter of secondary and higher education must not on any account be slackened—on the contrary, it must be extended and developed to the utmost, and with that view we must call in to help in that great work all agencies of every description ; and I see in the success of this institution the hope and the promise that that assistance will be given to the Government by private munificence and religious zeal. But it is not only for the instruction of the higher and the middle classes that we have to provide. The benefits of our teaching must nowadays be carried down to the masses of the population, and it was with the object of ascertaining how that could best be done that the Government two years ago appointed an Education Commission, which has taken a complete survey of the educational condition of the country, and it is naturally to that object that the resolution which we have recently issued has mainly been directed.

What we mean is, that in consequence of those circumstances your position in regard to this great question is somewhat special and peculiar, and that therefore we are prepared, in applying the general principles of our educational policy, which must be alike for all, to your community, to consider how far the application which we make of them should in any degree be special and different to that which may be suitable for other classes. It is a source of regret to me, gentlemen, that I have not myself been able to deal with this particular branch of the question before I leave India.

I was particularly struck at the circumstance mentioned in your address that a considerable number of Hindu chiefs and gentlemen had contributed to the establishment and support of this college. I rejoice

greatly at that circumstance; I hold it to be most fortunate for the future prospects of India. Foremost among the names of those who have done so I find that of the late Maharajah of Patialla, the Maharajah of Benares, the Maharajah of Vizianagram; and last, but certainly not least, is found the name of a lady, the Maharani Surnomoyee. It was doubtless natural that you should obtain much support from Mohammedan princes, chiefs, and gentlemen, but still I cannot help expressing my great satisfaction at finding the cordial interest which is taken in this institution by his Highness the Nizam. I shall always feel a very deep and special interest in the prosperity of that young prince. The fact that it fell to my lot to install him the other day and to be the first Viceroy of India who had ever visited Hyderabad, apart from his own personal merits, will make me watch his career with the deepest sympathy. I have had brought to my notice, gentlemen, the assistance which has been given in many ways to this institution by Moulvie Sami-alli Khan, and I am very glad of having this opportunity of returning him my own thanks, and I have no doubt that I may return him the thanks of all present on this occasion for his valuable services to the College. It would take too long if I were to go through the roll of those chiefs and gentlemen who in a lesser degree have aided in this great work, but I cannot help expressing my great satisfaction at finding upon the list of your benefactors the names of some of my most distinguished countrymen—of Lord Northbrook, Lord Lytton, Sir William Muir, and Sir John Strachey. Gentlemen, you are all aware that when Lord Northbrook was lately sent to Egypt he asked that he might have the assistance upon his staff of a Mohammedan gentleman from this country. The Moulvie was selected for that purpose, and I am quite sure that he discharged ably the duties which were entrusted to him. But it is not merely for the purpose of thanking him that I have drawn attention to that fact. It is that I may ask you to observe the proof which this circumstance affords to the readiness of the British Government to employ natives of India outside their own country upon suitable occasions as opportunity may offer; and I would also hope that you will see in the fact of Lord Northbrook's desire to have such

assistance, a sign of the confidence which your late Governor-General learnt while he was in India to place in the native gentlemen of this country.

Gentlemen, towards the close of your address you speak in warm and friendly terms of the general character of my administration. That men so intelligent and so experienced as those from whom this address emanates should have for me so favourable an estimate of the course which I have pursued in India is very gratifying to me. I cannot, indeed, conceal from myself that your friendly sentiments have unduly heightened the colours of the picture which you have drawn, but you have rightly understood the principles by which I have been guided and the objects at which I have aimed. Foremost among those objects has been the desire to promote public education in the fullest and widest sense of the word—the intellectual, the political, and the moral education of the people. You, in your own sphere and manner, are working for the same great end, supported by all the brilliant memories of the Mohammedan civilization of the past, and enlightened by the wider and more liberal spirit of modern times. You are engaged here, I am convinced, upon a great work of public utility, and therefore it is right that I, before I lay down my office, should follow the examples of my predecessors, and should come here and acknowledge your services and to encourage you in your labours. I do so most heartily, and I confidently believe that there lies before this institution a long and shining course of usefulness and success. Gentlemen, I heartily wish you farewell.'

After the ceremony we drove to Syed Ahmed's house where a splendid luncheon was awaiting the Viceroy and a few guests. Syed Ahmed was on the Viceroy's left, the Hon. Justice Mahmud on Lord Ripon's right, and it was to me, who had known the former as a subordinate judge in the small station of Ghazipore, and the latter as a boy at school, a right pleasant sight to see father and son in such honourable positions. There is not another family in India, and there is not likely again to be one, that has had a father in Council

and a son a Judge of the High Court at one and the same time. As Lord Ripon had still to receive several of the hundreds of addresses which poured in upon him during his journey from Simla to Calcutta and Bombay, the luncheon was more hurried than those who are fond of the good things of this life, including pomphret and oysters from Bombay, and dry champagne, quite relished. But a Viceroy's time is not his own, and the public convenience has to be attended to, so we all drove off to the hall of the Scientific Society, of which Syed Ahmed and I are Life Honorary Secretaries, where the Viceroy and party were photographed, and the addresses were read. The Viceroy left soon after for Agra, amid a roar of cheers from the vast crowd of natives assembled to see him off. Syed Ahmed was not one of the least vigorous of the cheerers. I have seen seven Viceroys—Lords Canning, Elgin, Lawrence, Mayo, Northbrook, Lytton, and Ripon—come and go, and certainly none of them have evoked such general enthusiasm and regard from the native community as the last. To those at home who are interested in India, I would recommend the perusal of an article—"If it be real, what does it mean?" which appeared in the "Pioneer" of December 12th, 1884, the author being, as is an open secret, Sir Archibald Colvin. Its sale in a separate form has been enormous amongst both natives and Europeans. its ability and far-seeing statesmanship add much to the already great reputation of its author. The writer of the "thoughtful article" in the "Allygurh Institute Gazette" of the 25th November was the Hon. Mr. Justice Mahmud. How men like himself must regard some of the English in India is evident from a story which he told me. He happened to visit the Madras

Club with the Chief Justice, Sir Charles Turner, who is a great friend of his. They had only been a few minutes inside when one of the members came up to Sir Charles and told him, before Syed Mahmud, that no native was allowed in the club. They left it People at home will scarcely believe this; but it is a fact, and the sooner we alter this behaviour of ours the better for the stability of our rule in India.

Syed Ahmed and two of his friends being in Agra last November, I asked them to dinner at the club, they being the first Mohammedan gentlemen who have ever dined there. After dinner, as we were sitting smoking and chatting in the reading room, Syed Ahmed turned to me and said, "Would that it were like this all over India! What a pleasant land it would then be for us!" The time is coming. If all men were like Syed Ahmed, it would have come long ago.

On the 24th December, 1884, a cricket match was played at Allygurh between the College and Station. Lunch was held in a large tent, and a novel feature was the joining of the college students in the station tiffin. At one of the three tables Mrs. Aikman, wife of my friend the Judge, entertained the College eleven, herself sitting at one end, and Mr. Beck, the Principal of the College, at the other. Syed Ahmed, in an account of the match published in the "Allygurh Institute Gazette," said, "The students will not readily forget the courtesy and kindness shown them on this occasion by an English lady."

After tiffin, Syed Ahmed, who was at another table, rose and said: "I should not like to incur the displeasure of the cricketers by detaining them from their game by a long speech. I will therefore put what I have to say in a few words. On behalf of the College

Committee, I must most cordially thank Mrs. Aikman for the favour she has so kindly shown to the boys of our college. Every nation has appointed certain ceremonies to be observed on the day their New Year commences. The New Year's day for the natives of India will, I believe, be the day when ceremonies are performed showing unity, love, and sympathy between them and Europeans. I therefore regard to-day as our New Year's Day. I propose that, in honour of Mrs. Aikman, a gold medal, called after her, be given every year to the best cricketer in the (College) Club, to keep alive the memory of her kindness to-day. To provide for it, I shall deposit a sum enough to give a yearly interest sufficient for the purpose." "Mrs. Aikman very kindly," writes Syed Ahmed, "consented;" and the match was resumed, and resulted in a victory for the Station.

When at home on leave I received from Syed Ahmed the following letter, under date, Allygurh, October 6th, 1885 :—

"MY DEAR GRAHAM,—After anxiously waiting to hear from you by every mail, I at last got your letter of the 10th ult. It gave me great pleasure to learn therefrom that you found all your people and specially Mrs. Graham well and happy on your arrival there, and that you have benefited by the change. But I am still anxious to learn when it is your intention to come ut again, and also whether Mrs. Graham is thinking of coming out to India or not. I am very anxious and shall be really very happy to see Mrs. Graham either it be by her coming out to India or my visiting England again. The latter seems to be almost impracticable, but I shall always hope for the former. I am glad that you have at last finished the work that you had taken in hand. Though I do not consider myself entitled to the honour you have done me by writing my life, yet I am glad to hear that you have accomplished your desire, and I hope that the 50 copies will be sent

to me as soon as the book is out. We have had unusually heavy rains this year, and consequently there has been fever too, but it was not of a serious type, simply the ordinary fever, and did not last more than two or three days. I and Syed Mahmud also have had it for two or three days, but I am glad to tell you that we are well now. Syed Mahmud is here in these days and is busily engaged on his work on the Mohammedan Law, which will prove to be of great use. He has, up to this time written several hundred pages, but I do not know how much more he is still going to write. I showed your letter to him and he was very glad to see that you have at last successfully finished the work that you had undertaken. He wishes to be remembered very kindly to you.

"Mr. Beck* came back from England early in August. He is happy and enjoying good health. He is deeply interested in the College and is always busy in its progress. The new Professor of English literature, Mr. Walter Raleigh, also arrived from England early this month. He is a very able man, and is likely to take great interest in the Institution. It is a matter of great gratification that he is an "English European gentleman" and not an "Indian European gentleman." I hope that the College will greatly improve by this addition. There is another European Professor coming out from England. His name is Mr. Harold Cox. He left England some weeks ago, and is expected to arrive here some time this week. I have heard that he is very liberal-minded and that his chief interest is to strive for the progress of the "human being" without regard to colour, be it white or black, and I hope that he will make this statement good when he arrives here and that the College will derive great benefit by his connection with it.

"I spend my time generally either in writing my commentary on the Koran or in doing something in connection with the College. At present the chief object that is concentrating my attention is the central hall of the College which is to be called the Strachey Hall. We have just begun to build it. We want fifty thousand rupees to do it, and we have opened a special subscription for this work. The plan is that a hundred sub-

*The late able Principal of the I M. College.

scribers should pay Rs. 500 each. Up to this time seventy-four have subscribed, and twenty-six more are wanted, which I hope we shall soon get. Thirteen out of these seventy-four are European gentlemen, including one Hon. B. U. Currie, who has sent Rs. 500 from England. This is a matter, no doubt, of extreme gratification. The fact of the Europeans thus helping in works calculated for the benefit of the natives of India, produces a great political effect on the country and the people.

"I sent over your letter to Mr. Beck and he was very glad to peruse it. I hope you will write to me often and keep me informed of all that concerns you, and that this letter will find you and Mrs. Graham in the enjoyment of good health and happiness. With kindest regards for Mrs. Graham and yourself,

Believe me,

Very sincerely yours,

(Sgd.) SYED AHMED."

At the time of writing my first edition of his life, Syed Ahmed was alive and well. I then wrote as follows :—

"Syed Ahmed has now resided for many years in his comfortable house in Allygurh, which was purchased and furnished for him in European style by his son, the Hon. Syed Mahmud. Here he entertains his numerous guests who visit him from all parts of India —Mohammedans, Sikhs, Hindus, and Englishmen. The doors are always open. The whole atmosphere is redolent of literature. His sitting room, in which he passes most of the day at the desk, is full of books and papers; the walls of his dining-room are covered with bookcases filled with standard English works; and his library—a splendid room—is stocked with a vast variety of books, including numerous theological works used by him in writing his Commentary on the Bible, Koran, &c. One of the not least interesting books to me is Syed Mahmud's prize taken at Cambridge for the best English essay! In the drawing-room is the diploma making Syed Ahmed a Fellow of the Royal Asiatic Society, of which he is particularly proud. On the wall opposite is a full-length portrait in oil of

his friend Sir John Strachey, a lifelike likeness. There are also portraits of Sir Salar Jang, Lord Lytton, and his Highness the Nizam of Hyderabad. The days for him pass pleasantly and quickly. One of his great characteristics is his untiring energy. In addition to great breadth of views on questions of national importance, he possesses a power of work as regards minute details which is astonishing. Up at 4 A.M., he writes his newspaper articles, his books and pamphlets —sees visitors, official and private—and conducts the onerous duties of his secretaryship to the College Committees not only by day, but not unfrequently far into the night. With him mental labour of the higher kind tends to long life and sound health. His meals are served in European style, and he is a rigid abstainer from all liquor except Adam's ale. At and after dinner friends drop in. The topics of conversation range from discussions on metaphysics, religion, and politics, to quotations from Persian poets and humorous anecdotes. He is of middle height and of massive build, weighing upwards of nineteen stone. His face is leonine—a rugged witness to his determination and energy. If, however, rather stern and forbidding when at rest, it lights up genially when speaking, reflecting the warmth of heart which he so largely possesses. He has a hearty laugh, and enjoys a joke as much as any man. He will put his stick under the table at dinner, and suddenly frighten those present by pretending to see a snake. Or again, the subject of conversation is the reform of his nation. One of his listeners is sleepy and nods. The Syed is anxious that all should attend. The sleepy member says he hears everything, but he presently nods again. All of a sudden a terrific shout of alarm is heard which makes every one jump, including the sleepy one; but all they see is the old Syed in roars of laughter! He has been a widower for many years, and has only had one wife. He informed me the other day, with a twinkle in his eye, that "he might marry again! But," said he, "*she* must be English, in order that I may mix more freely in English society, and she must be eighty years old, and have lost all her teeth!" He is a born orator. His delivery, when he warms to his subject, resembles that of Mr. Gladstone. His lips quiver with suppressed emotion; the voice and figure

follow suit,—and these evidences of intense feeling communicate themselves with electric rapidity to his audience. He is intensely cosmopolitan. To substitute " Mohammedan " for " Englishman " in eloquent words used lately in describing the late Lord Ampthill : " It is an exceedingly rare thing for an ordinary Mohammedan, even of the better sort, thoroughly to realise the fact, however emphatically he admits the theory, that Mohammedans and other races are of the same flesh and blood, and are amenable to the same passions and impulses. It is still rarer to find a Mohammedan who not only understands this to be the case, but proves his perception of it in practice. Syed Ahmed is so completely master of this art that national distinctions disappear before him, and rising above all accidental conditions of climate and race, of latitude, longitude, and ethnic idiosyncrasy, he gazes, by dint of his own power of judicious generalisation, upon an image which is none other than that of human nature itself. He preserves the patriotism and pride of the stock from which he is sprung, and has divested himself of all its prejudices." There was not another Mohammedan in India so fitted to take the lead in the great Mohammedan educational movement as he : no other Mohammedan gentleman possessed the ability, the eloquence, the great reputation, the cosmopolitanism, and the intense energy and perseverance of the subject of this sketch. Had it not been for his great efforts, the Mohammedan would have been far further behind the Hindu community as regards education than it now is ; and if the movement increases with the rapidity which has hitherto characterised it, the Mohammedans will soon be abreast of the Hindus. Amongst the mighty forces which have been silently changing the aspect of affairs in India during the last forty years, Syed Ahmed Khan's name will, to future generations, occupy a conspicuous place.

" I have now traced his honourable and laborious career from his earliest years up to the present, and trust that the picture, though very imperfectly drawn, may act as a stimulant to the rising generation of our Indian gentry. I have shown how a native gentleman of high and distinguished family, but poor, educated only up to his nineteenth year, has raised himself from the lowest

rung of the official ladder to the highest, and also educated himself, without the great advantage of a knowledge of English, to become, as he now is, the foremost Mohammedan of his day in India."

With regard to my book on his life, I received the following letter :—

ALLYGURH,
24th November, 1885.

"MY DEAR GRAHAM,—By the last mail I received a copy of the book which you have called the 'Life and Work of Syed Ahmed Khan,' but which I call 'the favour of Graham to Syed Ahmed Khan.' Although the book is well written, is neatly got up, has a good cover, and is a thing to be proud of on account of its author, yet the only defect in it is that it is devoted to the life of one like my humble self. The reader cannot help thinking of the following verse of a Persian poet, 'If you combine in you one good quality and seventy bad ones, your friend will overlook them all and direct his attention to that one good quality.' I looked through the book carefully, and turned it all over trying, if I could, to find out any word in it which might give me genuine pleasure and be something to be proud of, and immense was my joy on finding out the following words in its preface : 'I have known Syed Ahmed more like a *relative*, I may say, than a friend.' I assure you that I shall always feel proud of it. The sentence is as much a matter of pride to me as it is of advice to the Anglo-Indians. It would be a good piece of advice for them to act upon, and they will be able to realise that such friendship and sympathy is quite possible between Europeans and the natives of India.

"However, putting aside the subject of the book, and whether it ought, or ought not, to have been written about an insignificant person like myself, I am glad that you have completed the work on which you had set your heart, and that your labour of love has come to an end. I congratulate you most cordially on this, and at the same time I congratulate myself on the fact that though I did not approve of such a book being written, I gave way to the pleasure of one whom I value, not only as a friend, but as a brother. Remem-

ber, dear Graham, I do not mean an elder brother, for I am older than you in respect of years, and I acted on the Persian saying, 'It is easy to atone for the breaking of an oath, but it is a mighty wrong to grieve a friend.' Herewith I enclose some cuttings from the 'Pioneer,' containing letters that appeared about one or two points treated of in your book.

"We had very heavy rain this year, and as a natural consequence we had a good deal of fever after the rains. I have had fever, too, once or twice, but now I am quite well again, and the weather is getting lovely *(sic).* Syed Mahmud is also here, busy on his work on the Mahommedan law. His leave will expire towards the close of March, when, I think, he will have to go back to his substantial post at Rai Bareli, until a vacancy occurs in the High Court. Lord Dufferin will soon be at Agra, where he is going to hold a levee. Sir Alfred Lyall asked me to come over to Agra, and I am going by to-day's mail. I wish you had been there so that I could then enjoy my visit. I trust this will find you and Mrs. Graham and children well and happy.

"With kindest regards for Mrs. Graham and yourself,

Believe me,

Yours ever sincerely,

(Sgd.) SYED AHMED.

"P.S.—On the arrival of your book, the 'Pioneer' published full extracts from it about the mutiny and the correspondence that was going on."

I received the following letter from Syed Ahmed Khan :—

Aligarh,
12th January, 1887.

My dear Graham,

Many thanks for your letter of the 28th, which I received at the time when I had just arrived at Allahabad and was busy with the Public Service Commission. I had been at Lahore and Allahabad with the Commission, but I did not go to Jubbulpore, Bombay or Madras with them; however, I rejoin the Commission at Calcutta. During my stay at Allahabad I was so busy with the work of the Commission that it took up the

whole day every day (*sic*) and I had no time to see anyone except once when I saw Sir Alfred Lyall on an urgent business for a short time. I have neither had time to read Mr. Keene's Review which you sent, and which I have therefore kept and shall return later on when I have done with it. I was indeed extremely delighted to see from the advance sheets of "Puck and Pearl" that Mrs. Graham was making a name for illustrations. Kindly send my best regards to her when you write to her next time, and get a copy of the book for me, too, when it is out.

I was very glad to read the letter from the Viceroy's Private Secretary, which I enclose back herewith. Hoping you are keeping well and wishing you a Happy New Year,

I remain,

Very sincerely yours,

(Signed) SYED AHMED.

The "Puck and Pearl" mentioned in this was a story by Mrs. Frederika Macdonald, and illustrated by my wife. The letter from the Private Secretary was as follows :—

Government House,

Simla,

17th August, 1886.

Dear Sir,

I am directed by the Viceroy (Lord Dufferin) to thank you for the pamphlet containing the Reviews on "Syed Ahmed Khan's Life and Work," which you have been so good as to send for His Excellency's perusal.

I am,

Yours faithfully,

(Signed) D. MACKENZIE WALLACE,

Private Secretary to the Viceroy.

Lieutenant-Colonel Graham.

On the 12th March, 1887, Syed Ahmed wrote me as follows :—

Aligarh,
12th March, 1887.

My dear Graham,

Thanks for your kind note to hand this morning. I arrived here only yesterday from Calcutta and feel extremely tired after all this travelling. All copies of my work on the antiquities of Delhi were lost during the Mutiny, and I am sorry to say I haven't got a single copy to spare; but I have got only one copy, which I shall be glad to lend you if you want it. The Strachey Hall is progressing, but I am afraid it won't be ready before another year, as there is a great deal of work to be done. I was very much delighted that Mrs. Graham and the girls will be coming out in November. With kindest regards, believe me,

Ever yours sincerely,
(Signed) SYED AHMED.

P.S.—While at Calcutta I saw Sir Charles Elliott, who was very kind to me and asked me to dinner one evening. He was enquiring about you. He has very kindly given Rs.500 towards the Central Hall Building Fund.

Here is another letter :—

Naini Tal, N.W.P.,
India,
September 17th, 1888.

My dear Graham,

In the first place I was much surprised to hear from Molvi Syed Mahdi Ali that you complain against me for not having written to you since you left India. It is not out of place to say that so far as my recollection goes, I sent you two or three letters, but none of them was replied to. The letters which I sent you contained the following subjects :—

(1) The receipt of H.H. the Maharaja of Dholpur's picture and the information of the damages which its frame received on its way to Aligarh, and also I asked you how to dispose of it.

(2) Thanks for the photographs of your family, which reached me without any letter, and I asked for some accounts of your children.

(3) Asking for a copy of the accounts of General Ochterlony and Nawab Khajaw Khaja Farid Khan from the copy of the old papers which you obtained in Etah.

All these things were written in two or three letters, as I do not very well remember, but no reply has yet reached me of any one of them. In the other place I was very glad to hear from Molvi Syed Mahdi Ali the welfare of yours and Mrs. Graham's (part here torn out and given to Mr. Khuda Bukhsh, student at Oxford, who wanted Syed Ahmed's signature.—G.F.I.G.). Haji Mahomed Ismail Khan is at present in Mecca, and consequently the work for the second edition of my life* has been put off. He is expected soon after, and will then commence the work himself. In the meantime I hope you will not forget to send me the copy of the papers which I have mentioned above, as some difficulties will probably arise in bringing out the second edition without them. With kindest regards to yourself and Mrs. Graham,

Believe me,

Ever yours sincerely,

(Signed) SYED AHMED.

The next letter is in reply to one of mine, telling him of the birth of my boy Fritz, now (1909) twenty years old.

Aligarh,
N.W.P., India,
December, 1888.

My dear Graham,

Your very kind favour of the 16th ultimo duly reached me by the last mail, and I was very glad indeed to learn the good news of yourself, Mrs. Graham, and your children.

First of all, I heartily congratulate you and Mrs. Graham for the new-born child, and it is the earnest prayer of an old friend of his father that he may live long with his father, mother, sisters, and brothers, to enjoy the blessings of life and make a distinguished man. Though you are far off from us, I assure

*This refers to the Hindustani edition

you, my dear old friend, that not even a week has passed that whenever I get leisure to have a chat with my friends, you and Mrs. Graham have not called to my memory. I am at present so much pressed with the heavy work of the College and the Commentary on the Holy Koran, on which I am busily engaged, that, besides the hours I sleep, I am sorry to say that I can spare no time to do any other thing, and it often occurs that I take my breakfast on the corner of the same table on which I have been working. Still more I have undertaken a heavy task against the so-called National Congress, and have formed an Association, "The Indian United Patriotic Association," the work of which is much more greater (*sic*) than the other works, and I am very glad to tell you that Beck gives me a great deal of assistance in the matter, otherwise it would have been much more difficult, or rather impossible for us to go on further with it. It is to my very great regret to say that you are at a very great distance from us at such a critical time when your helping hand and advice are urgently needed. I herewith enclose the rules framed for this Association, and I have been wishing to see your name in the list of its members with us. Its annual subscription is £1; either you may send it to me or else I will pay for you. I have sent you two pamphlets, which have already been issued in connection with the Patriotic Association, and will send you the next one as soon as it is out from the Press.

Besides this, I have already written a letter to Mr. Chamberlain, a copy of which is herewith enclosed. This is a private letter to him. Haji Mahomed Ismail Khan, who is the chief organ of arranging my Life (2nd vernacular edition), was in Mecca and has already returned. He has now paid his attention to it and it is hoped it will satisfactorily be arranged before long. I am much indebted to you for the information you so kindly gave me from the letters of Col. Gardner, but I ask you the favour of sending me all the papers, and I will return them to you carefully in a registered cover as soon as I have done with them. I should like to read all over those papers, and it is not my intention to publish all their contents, but it is my hearty desire to go over them once.

I am sorry to learn that your article on those of Dr. Hunter was not published in the English papers. My opinion is that you will once more attempt to have it inserted in some other English paper there, as it would very probably throw a good deal of light on the public mind.

You are welcome to put up with me whenever you and Mrs. Graham come out to India in cold weather. My house is open for you, and I am ready for your reception. It would only give me very great pleasure if you and Mrs. Graham and myself might spend some happy days in one and the same house. It is very pleasing to tell you that in these days Beck's father, mother, and sister have come out to India, and the students have convened several meetings for their happy visit to this place, and these for days have been spent very cheerfully. I have conveyed your message to Beck.

One more pleasing news which I forgot to tell you in my last is that Syed Mahmood (*sic*) has at last married, and at the same time it is much more pleasing that he married into his own nearest relations and not into any other family, as many people were thinking of it. I hope this will meet you in good health. With kind regards to yourself and Mrs. Graham and your children,

Believe me,
My dear old friend,
Ever sincerely yours,
(Signed) SYED AHMED.

This letter contradicts an article in the "Pall Mall Gazette" of January 2nd, 1907, on the formation by Mohammedans of the "All Indian Moslem League." In it the writer says: "The Dacca Conference, composed of Mussulmans from all parts of India, has done a thing which the Mussulmans have been longing to do for a score of years past, but have not done until now. . . . . Why did they not do it long ago?" The President of the Conference denounced the "rabid opposition" of the National Congress to all Govern-

ment measures, condemned and discouraged the revolutionary tendencies of the present political situation, and declared that Mohammedans must be prepared, if necessary, to fight for the Government-videlicet, with other weapons than the glib and venomous tongue of the typical Congress-wallah.

If we glance at the history of India during the past twenty years we shall see why the Mohammedans did not take this step before. . . . . When, in 1887, the antics of the Indian National Congress began to attract public attention, the acknowledged leader of the Mohammedan body was the late Sir Syed Ahmed Khan. That distinguished social and religious reformer, who was also a staunch friend of the Government, while roundly denouncing the Congress as a most mischievous and seditious institution, was, nevertheless, *strongly opposed to the policy of any similar agitation by his own people against it.* Partly, perhaps, owing to the innate Moslem contempt for any imitation of the ways of the idolatrous Hindoo, partly to Sir Syed Ahmed's fixed belief in the impartiality of the Sirkar, he exhorted his co-religionists to avoid the policy of combination for the purpose of clamour, and to have confidence in the even-handed justice of the Indian Government. In Bombay he was not wholly obeyed; the late Mr. Badruddin Tyabji took part in the National Congress, and even became its President; but the Mohammedan community, as a whole, stood loyally aloof. Time went on . . . . The Bengali Baboo ruled the roost; the seditious Native Press indulged in an orgie of disloyalty, and, on the whole, it became apparent that dignified policy of silent loyalty was not, practically, a paying game. *How much longer the pos-*

thumous power of Sir Syed Ahmed's influence would have sufficed to keep the Mohammedans true to his policy it is impossible to say; but matters came to a head over the question of the partition of Bengal and the resignation of Sir Bamfylde Fuller. . . . . The Mohammedan population . . . . were furious. . . . . Now, therefore, at the dawn of the year which is the fiftieth anniversary of the Mutiny—a significant, but too little remembered fact—we find the political outlook in India complicated by the presence of a new factor in the problem. . . . . The Mohammedans have felt compelled to adopt a weapon which they dislike. . . . . We can only hope that the new League will help to redress the balance of official favour, which is all that is desired by the loyal Mohammedan subjects of the King-Emperor.

From Syed Ahmed's last letter to me, however, we see that he was never against a League and had actually started one himself.

This letter of December, 1888, was the last letter that I received from Syed Ahmed. I am afraid that the fault was on both sides, I thinking that he was forgetful of me in not acknowledging letters and a birthday gift which I sent him, and he thinking that I was forgetful of him. I regret it deeply and shall regret it to the end of my life. The news of his death was a great shock to me.

The "St. James' Gazette" published the following short notice :

His long and honourable life came to an end in 1898. Throughout his life he worked for the greatest good of his fellow countrymen and co-religionists. He succeeded in being everything that we desire our Indian

fellow subjects to be. His great aim was to restore the Mussulmans to their former position as a dominant and forward race, and this aim he carried out by incessantly impressing on them the virtues of orderly and sober lives, liberal education, unflinching loyalty to the Government, and a careful and intelligent adherence to their religion.

To-day there is no more loyal man than the Mohammedan of the N.W.P. and the Punjaub. At the tomb of Syed Ahmed Englishmen and Indians reverence one who was beloved and honoured by all alike, a firm friend, a very wise man, a very good man, and an ornament to our Indian Mussulmans.

APPENDIX.

HIGHER EDUCATION IN INDIA—DEPUTATION TO LORD MINTO—LORD MORLEY'S INDIAN REFORMS BILL

HIGHER EDUCATION IN INDIA.

Speaking on this subject, Lord Dufferin, in 1886, said when he received the honourable degree of D.C.L. from the Punjab University, "In what manner your labours in the one hemisphere may most effectually supplement and commingle with the achievements of your fellow workers in the other ; how you may best apply the products of your own past, so rich in everything that can warm the fancy and excite the imagination or exercise the speculative and metaphysical faculty, to the practical requirements of your future and the exigiencies of our present hard and exacting age, is one of the principle problems with which you have to deal, and for which I have no doubt you will find a satisfactory solution."

Soon afterwards, writing to Lord Cross, January 18th, 1887, he wrote :—" At Mundabad and Lanjore a minority in the Municipal Council wanted to introduce into their addresses one or two sentences in reference to the reform of the Councils and to the political aspirations of young India, to which their colleagues objected, and when they found themselves in a minority they

sent me unofficially a copy of what they had wished to say in a separate paper. . . . . I am glad that you approve of my speech at Poona. . . . . Some of the older Indians, though agreeing in every word I said, seem to consider it inadvisable for the Viceroy to make any reference to public opinion as signified through the newspapers, and maintain that it ought to be loftily ignored. In this view I do not concur. I do not think we can afford to disregard it; for there are some papers, particularly on the Bombay side, that are conducted with moderation, and with a certain amount of political insight; and although it would be absu-d to regard the press as in any way representing the various and multitudinous populations of India, it does undoubtedly express the ideas of the educated class. Though this class is at present small and uninfluential, it is both wise and right to court with it, and we must remember that it is above all things a growing power."

"Lord Dufferin felt that the time was passing when the British Government could afford to disparage the claims and aspirations of a party that the British system of education had deliberately created. Trained intelligence and high culture in every country are more or less restricted to a minority, but the select few become gradually leaders of the many" (Life of Lord Dufferin, p 150). Later on in 1886, Lord Dufferin recorded his opinion as follows :—" Now I think it is desirable that the Government should make up its mind as soon as possible in regard to the policy it is determined to pursue, for evidently India is not a country in which the machinery of European democratic agitation can be applied with impunity." (We have practical proof of this in the present bomb epi-

demic, and in the assassination of Sir Curzon Wyllie.) "My own inclination would be to examine carefully and seriously the demands which are the outcome of these various movements; to give quickly and with a good grace whatever it may be possible or desirable to accord; to announce that these concessions must be accepted as a final settlement of the Indian system for the next ten or fifteen years; and to forbid mass meetings and incendiary speechifying. . . . . Now that we have educated these people, their desire to take a larger part in the management of their own domestic affairs seems to be a legitimate and reasonable aspiration, and I think there should be enough statesmanship amongst us to contrive the means of permitting them to do so without our unduly compromising our Imperial supremacy." And as regarded the legislative Council of the Viceroy, Lord Dufferin wrote (p. 155) :—"For my own part, I think that a yearly financial discussion in the Viceroy's legislative Council would prove a very useful and desirable arrangement. . . . . I do not by this mean that votes should be taken in regard to the various items of the budget, ... but simply that an opportunity should be given for a full, free, and thorough criticism and examination of the financial policy of the Government. . . . . The second change . . . which I am inclined to recommend is, that under proper restrictions . . . . its members should be permitted to ask questions in reference to current matters of domestic . . . . interest that may have attracted public attention. . . . . Under existing circumstances the Government of India has no adequate medium through which it can explain its policy, correct a wrong impression, or controvert a

false statement, and though up to the present time the consequences of the evils I have indicated may not have become very serious or widespread, they contain the germs of incalculable danger" (p. 156). "The Press in India, while it is as free as in England, and is often conducted with considerable ability, is inaccurate, because it is seldom well-informed; the educated classes supply impatient censure and criticism, the uneducated are exceedingly credulous." The right of non-official members of Council to the right of interpellations not being then extant, "the natural consequence was that intelligent political discussion found its main vent in journalism, and that the functions of an opposition were undertaken by the newspapers." In one of his last speeches in India (p.p. 201-2), Lord Dufferin said, "Some intelligent, loyal, patriotic, and well-meaning men are desirous of taking, I will not say a further step in advance, but a very big jump into the unknown—by the application to India of democratic methods of government, and the adoption of a Parliamentary system, which England herself has only reached by slow degrees and through the discipline of many centuries of preparation."

To go so far was impracticable; nevertheless, certain steps in that direction might be taken.

DEPUTATION TO LORD MINTO.

On October 2nd, 1906, the following article appeared in "The Times":—

"The Mohammedan deputation elected by their co-religionists throughout India, and representative of their community as no deputation has ever been before, laid their case before Lord Minto yesterday and received his answer. It was one of those occasions when

great issues are at stake, and when a mistake in policy, or even mere want of imagination, may work harm which the most honest efforts will be afterwards powerless to undo. The Viceroy's speech, however, gave evidence that he fully appreciated the situation. It was worthy both of the importance of the occasion and of his own position as representative of the Crown. Its tone throughout was one of frank and intelligent sympathy with his Mohammedan hearers, and he made it clear that he realised the significance of their action. The deputation, as we pointed out the other day, is a thing quite unprecedented in the recent history of the Indian Mohammedans. It is a departure frem twenty years of political quietism, twenty years during which the Mohammedans faithfully kept Sir Syed Ahmed's advice not to let themselves be drawn into the current of agitation. Though they have now entered on organised political action, they are still perfectly true to the spirit of his counsel. It is characteristic of their point of view that, when they felt some steps had to be taken, agitation against the Government was the last thing they thought of. They made no attempt to inflame religious prejudice or political passion against British rule, like the Hindu agitators of Bengal. Instead of that, they took a course which is in itself no small proof of their fitness for political responsibility. They sought the Government's permission to lay their views before it, elected a thoroughly representative deputation, and then urged their case with a breadth and moderation which would be striking in any country or society. Lord Minto is evidently alive to the significance of this. He welcomed the representative character of their gathering and referred to their past in language which must have gone straight to their hearts. Without making any detailed reference to the late controversy, he thanked the Mohammedans in the new province of Eastern Bengal for the self-restraint they had shown in new and trying circumstances. He did something which will be even more welcome to the Mohammedans than this. He gave an explicit pledge to their community in Eastern Bengal that they could rely as firmly as ever on British justice and fair play; and in his remark that the future of the province "is now, I hope, assured," we may read the

determination of the Government not to go back on the policy of partition. But still more important were the closing words of his speech, which contained a pledge just as explicit, to the whole Mohammedan community of India, that their political rights and interests will be safeguarded in any administrative reorganisation and throughout the general policy of the British *Raj*.

It was, of course, not the Viceroy's business to go into details yesterday as to how the political interests of the Mohammedans could best be assured. He made no attempt to do so, but he said enough to show them that their own proposal commands not only his sympathy, but, in principle, his adherence. What the Mohammedans propose was very lucidly explained in our article on "Indian Affairs" yesterday. They want representation as a community, in all cases to which representation applies, from municipalities and district boards up to the Imperial Legislative Council. They suggest this solution as being the only effective means of safeguarding minorities, and as the only possible way of working representative institutions in India. It it with this last point that we get to the strength of their proposal. The Mohammedan idea was fairly described in our article as almost the only piece of original political thought which has emanated from modern India. The Bengali politicians have not really got so far. They have not got beyond the idea of importing the whole scheme of British politics ready made. This is substantially the process which Mr. Morley, in his Budget speech, denounced as a fantastic and ludicrous dream. It is, or it ought to be, a fantastic dream to suppose that we can ever graft our political institutions unchanged on to the hoary antiquity of India. It has so far remained a dream that the Congress party have not succeeded in transplanting much beyond our political vituperation, inflamed by occasional outbursts of disloyalty and appeals to religious passion. The Mohammedan theory is quite a different one. It is based on this solid fact—that the principle of representation by merely numerical majorities is not found workable in India. Where this principle is applied, minorities go to the wall. Parties are organised, as parties in India must be, purely on religious or racial lines, and the election becomes a religious or racial

warfare, in which the creed or race that is numerically strong triumphs, to the total exclusion of the creed or race that is weak. That is why local self-government has been a failure in so many cases, and why any real political progress is impossible until a truer principle is implied.

This principle the Mohammedans are endeavouring to supply. In doing so, they are not merely doing the best for their own creed; they are taking a line which must interest everybody, and which may have the most desirable effects on the whole political development of India. Of Lord Minto's attitude they have certainly no reason to complain. He says that, as regards their claim to be estimated not merely by numbers but as a community, he is entirely in accord with them. While not indicating details, he declares himself as firmly convinced as they that "any electoral representation in India would be doomed to mischievous failure which aimed at granting a personal enfranchisement, regardless of the beliefs and traditions of the communities composing the population of this Continent." The immediate question raised by the Mohammedans will go before the committee lately appointed to consider representative changes, from which we trust it will get sympathetic consideration. That much, however, is practically assured by Lord Minto's reply, which fully endorsed the soundness of the Mohammedan proposal. On another point—a point of method— the Viceroy was in agreement with his hearers. He thinks, as they do, that self-government must begin far down, and that its "initial rungs" are to be looked for in the municipal and district boards. In other words, the Indian people must educate themselves politically in small things before heavier responsibilities are laid on them. At present the Indian politician has unlimited chances of criticism, and little or no opportunity of learning what political responsibility really means. The political education of a people cannot be carried on under such conditions. Municipal self-government, on the other hand, as was pointed out a few weeks ago in these columns, gives a definite field of training, which may be made really useful, if the municipal bodies are emancipated from the excessive official control that still prevails. By this means something can be done to

teach political knowledge to India, and, indirectly, to get rid of some of the less desirable results of our imported Western education. Western culture was bound, in any case, to produce a ferment when applied to Eastern brains, and in India we have too often been content with a merely superficial method. The moral fruits of that system have been less perceptible than the intellectual, and we can best redress the balance by fostering a sense of civic responsibility.

INDIAN REFORMS BILL.

The "Daily Mail" on the 25th February, 1909, contained the following note under the heading of "Indian Pitfalls":—

Lord Midleton, who resumed the debate in the House of Lords to-day on Lord Morley's Indian Reforms Bill, extracted an interesting admission from the Secretary of State. So far as he could see there was nothing to prevent a man who had been the subject of a criminal prosecution, or had been deported from obtaining a seat on a legislative council.

Lord Morley, interposing, said the regulations would undoubtedly determine certain classes of prohibition and exclusion, and the case suggested would be among them.

Lord Crewe, speaking later in the debate, gave an assurance that the Lieutenant-Governors will not be entrusted with a power of veto.

Lord Cromer, one of the most distinguished of England's retired pro-consuls, gave a general approval to the Bill. His commanding air, his voice with its strange cadences, his crisp, parade-ground sentences, gave a piquant character to his speech. He was bound to consider the admission of native members to the legislative councils as a leap in the dark. "Take an obvious parallel. How awkward it would be if Lord Crewe and Lord Morley, members of the same Cabinet, could not discuss matters of a policy over a cup of tea and a plate of bread and butter owing to their religious differences" (laughter).

Lord Cromer had no great confidence in the result of the experiment of introducing parliamentary institutions into India. All the same, he did not regard the difficulties as serious enough to justify opposition to the Bill, or to throw doubts on its ultimate success.

Lord Lansdowne, whose speech had been eagerly awaited, condensed his main criticism into a simile from poker. "After consulting with the local Governors, Lord Minto submitted a scheme of reform. Having seen Lord Minto's hand, Lord Morley went one better. At a time when the greatest possible caution was necessary in dealing with Indian affairs, he converted the extremely cautious proposal of the Indian Government into a scheme very much less cautious."

The system of election, he said, was foreign to the ideas of the Indian people. The abolition of the official majority was a dangerous game to play. As to the executive councils, the Government seemed to have developed the habit of legislating first and consulting afterwards. Witness Old-Age Pensions and Welsh Disestablishment. He thought there would be a preponderance of Indian sentiment against having a native member of the Viceroy's Council. We should not go too fast over ground strewn with pitfalls and dangers.

Lord Crewe replied for the Government. The Bill was then read a second time.

In the House of Commons, Mr. Buchanan, Under-Secretary for India, justified exceptional measures in view of the organised conspiracy in certain parts of Bengal to subvert British rule.

"In East Bengal," he said, "young men act under orders for the express purpose of obtaining money for the propaganda, another body acts for the purpose of obtaining explosives and arms, a third exists to make bombs and use them. They endeavour by terrorism to paralyse the administration of the law, and they boasted that they intended to murder the important witnesses, active policemen, and zealous officials. The latest assassination took place only ten days ago."

Lord Percy, speaking for the Opposition, heartily supported the Government, and Mr. Rees (Liberal) agreed with him.

Mr. Keir Hardie condemned deportation. A Liberal amendment on the subject was defeated by 195 votes to 76.

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